BOWDICH'S MISSION
FROM
CAPE COAST CASTLE
TO ASHANTEE

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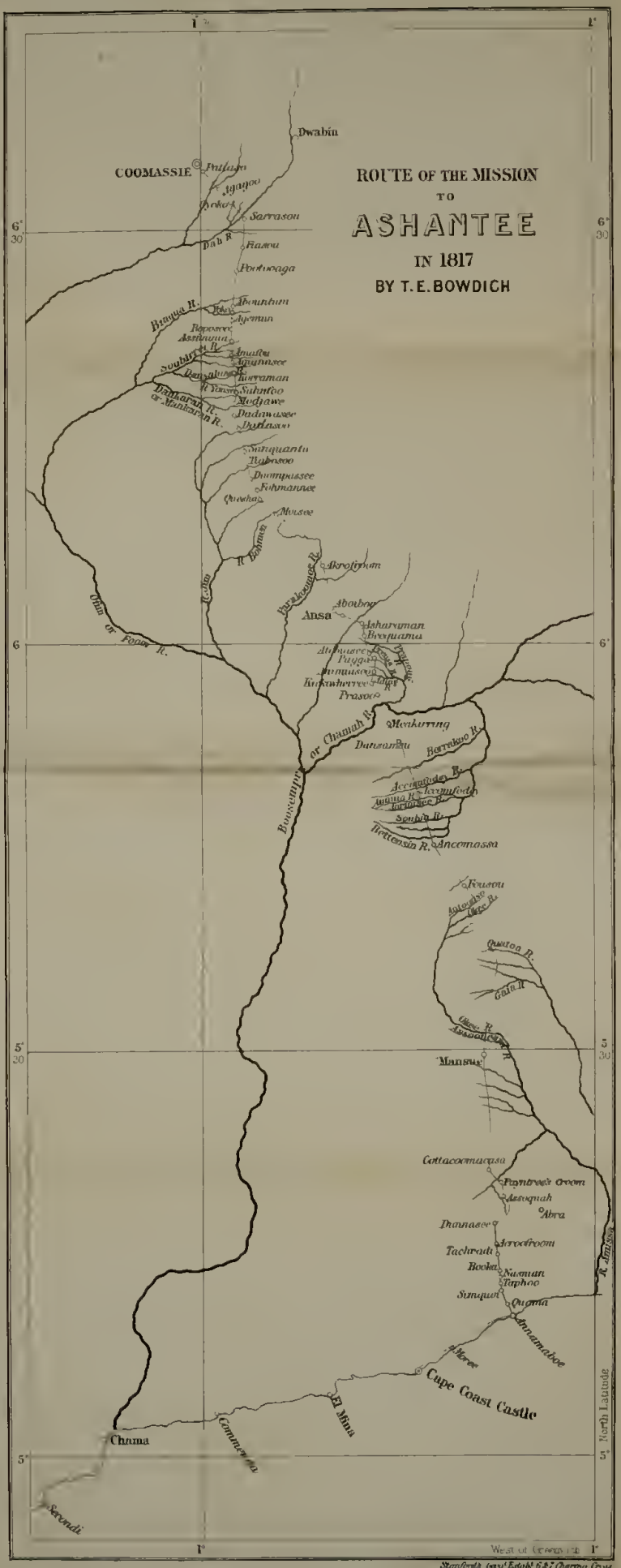
ROUTE OF THE MISSION
TO
ASHANTEE
IN 1817
BY T. E. BOWDICH
COOMASSIE
Dwabin
Fetiasko
Agapoo
Sarrasou
Dah R.
Fiasou
Pordoaga
Braqua R.
Dennibum
Akemun
Bapoasee
Ashanuna
Anuabu
Quansee
Soubin R.
Dansalum R.
Kurvaman
Subintoo
Dadiarah R. or Manbarah R.
Modjawe
Dadanasee
Dunlasou
Sunquanta
Bubnoo
Dumpassee
Fohmanna
Quashas
Musee
R. Dehmma
Akrofirum
Barakuang R.
Ansa
Aboubo
Asharuman
Broojuama
Atjouare
Paygan
Dumassou
Kukuburree
Prasoe
Monkurring
Dunsambu
Barrakuo R.
Boosempra or Chamah R.
Accrapidee R.
Accrumfedee
Anuna R.
Tarkwa R.
Sephi R.
Bettensin R.
Ancomassa
Fiasou
Antendee R.
Quatoo R.
Calm R.
Ussee R.
Assoon R.
Mansue
Cottacoomacasu
Fantree's Groom
Assoquah
Abra
Dunnasee
Accrofroom
Tachrudi
Bodee
Nuoman
Taphoo
Sunquee
Quama
Annamaboe
Moree
Cape Coast Castle
El Mina
Commanee
Chama
Sevendi
6° 30
6
5° 30
5
1° West of Greenwich 1°
5° North Latitude
Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t 6.7 Charing Cross

MISSION

FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE

TO

ASHANTEE,

WITH A

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THAT KINGDOM.

BY THE LATE

T. EDWARD BOWDICH, Esq.

"QUOD SI PRÆ METU ET FORMIDINE PEDEM REFERREMUS, ISTA OMNIA NOBIS ADVERSA FUTURA SUNT."

NEW EDITION,

WITH INTRODUCTORY PREFACE BY HIS DAUGHTER, MRS. HALE.

LONDON:

GRIFFITH & FARRAN,

CORNER OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

MDCCCLXXIII.

LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

TO

DAVID R. MORIER, Esq.,

THIS REPRINT OF

THE WORK OF HIS OLD FRIEND,

IS INSCRIBED

WITH THE SINCEREST REGARD AND ESTEEM.

T. H. HALE.

INTRODUCTION.

AT this time of general interest in the little-known kingdom of Ashantee, it occurred to me that a reprint of my father's mission to that country might be acceptable to the public, by making known the genius and character of the people with whom we are engaged in the present unhappy war. While hesitating from the fear that after the expiration of fifty years the information contained in it might have become obsolete or superseded, I received a letter from my valued friend, Mr. David Morier, suggesting the republication of the work, from the desirability that the history of our first dealings with that savagely formidable power should be thoroughly known. My undertaking also met with encouragement from Professor Owen and from Mr. Andrew Swanzy, whose able letters, published in the *Times* newspaper, prove him to be so thoroughly conversant with the affairs of the Gold Coast, and who has kindly allowed me to publish the annexed letter, in which he gives his opinion as to the value of the work at the present crisis. The narrative of the mission I have given as it stood. In the second part I have

left out one or two chapters, which are hardly suitable to the present time.

But, as a generation has passed away since my brave and talented father toiled, suffered, and died in the cause of science and of Africa, the present generation may require to know something of his history before it relies upon his information.

Thomas Edward Bowdich was born in Bristol, June 20th, 1791. The son of a merchant, it was natural that his father should wish him to enter his business, but Mr. Bowdich's career is one of the many instances which show how impossible it is, if not wrong, to endeavour to turn into an uncongenial channel the talents, the tastes for another, and in this case nobler sphere. To a mind and character such as his, the desk and the counting-house were so entirely distasteful, that, in 1814, through the interest of his uncle, Mr. Hope Smith, then Governor-in-Chief of the settlements of the African Company, he obtained a writership in that Company, and proceeded to Cape Coast. In 1817 he was chosen by the African Company to conduct a mission to Ashantee, for the purpose of establishing the trade with that kingdom. It is the history of that mission which is now republished, and to that I refer the reader for that portion of Mr. Bowdich's life.

On returning to England, flushed with the success of his mission, he was so coolly received, in consequence

of the misrepresentations of those who either disapproved of his conduct of it, or were jealous of so young a man having accomplished it, that, after the publication of the first edition of "The Mission to Ashantee," he repaired to Paris with my mother, and for three years and a half devoted himself to study, with the view of preparing himself for another voyage to Africa. Here he was in constant intercourse with Cuvier, De Humboldt, Denon, and the many gifted persons who formed the brilliant society of the Hôtel Cuvier.

While fitting himself for a return to Africa, he published several pamphlets and works on Natural History, and, in 1822, started for Sierra Leone. The African Company had become extinct, and Mr. Bowdich hoped, if permitted, to make himself useful to the new Government of the Gold Coast. He first went to Lisbon, in order to consult some manuscripts in the public and private archives of that city, which might enable him to form an idea of the extent of the Portuguese discoveries in Africa. From Lisbon he went to Madeira; not finding a ship bound for Sierra Leone among the many lying at anchor in the bay of Funchal, Mr. Bowdich made several excursions into the interior of the island; in these he was occupied many months. At last, giving up all hope of finding a vessel going direct to Sierra Leone, he set sail for the Gambia,

on the 26th of October, 1823, staying some time at the Cape de Verde Islands, where he made many excursions and discoveries in Natural History.

Arrived at Bathurst, Mr. Bowdich intended to stay a month before proceeding to Sierra Leone, and as the Gambia was so little known to science, he at once set to work to commence its survey and examine its natural productions. In pursuit of these he lost his life. Anxious to multiply his astronomical observations as much as possible, he scarcely allowed himself needful rest, and one night, fearing he had slept too long, he started from his bed in haste, and exposed himself, with too little additional clothing, to the cold land breeze in the open gallery. Fever followed, and in ten days he closed his life of activity, energy, and zeal, January 10th, 1824.

Mr. Bowdich's works, and his numerous discoveries in Natural Science, during a short life of little more than thirty years, show what his powers were, to what they would have led, and what might have been expected from so much early promise.

Brought up with an hereditary love for and interest in Africa, it has been a pleasure to me to contribute, in even the smallest degree, to a better knowledge of it, especially if a closer acquaintance with its people lead to efforts for their civilization and their conversion to the One True Faith; nor has the task imposed upon

me, as a necessary part of the reprint of the "Mission to Ashantee," of bringing the name of a revered father again before the public, been a less pleasant one. My only regret is that I have performed it so imperfectly.

TEDLIE HUTCHISON HALE.

58, HARLEY STREET,
17*th October*, 1873.

Copy of a Letter from MR. ANDREW SWANZY.

122, CANNON STREET, LONDON,
October 6th, 1873.

MY DEAR MADAM,—Owing to the dangers and difficulties attending a journey to Coomassie, few travellers have of late attempted the task; and had its King been contented to reign in peace over the vast territory under his sway, Ashantee might have remained for an indefinite period unnoticed and unexplored; it needed, however, but a bad excuse and a good opportunity, to induce that savage monarch to make a great, and, as I believe, a final effort to regain his former sovereignty over the tribes under the protection of the British. This effort, under-estimated at first, and unopposed by any adequate force, has carried the warlike Ashantees to the very gates of our principal towns on the Gold Coast, till at length the interests and even the honour of England have become involved

in the struggle with this barbarous chief. The consequence is, that the inquiry excited fifty years since, by the defeat and death of Sir Charles McCarthy, is again awakened, and every one asks where and what is Ashantee? At such a crisis, my dear Madam, we turn for an answer to the few books written on the subject, and especially to the able work of your late father, copies of which cannot be found to supply even those personally interested in Africa; and the public are deprived of the useful and reliable information to be derived from Bowdich's "Mission," information as applicable now as it was when first offered to the public half a century since, for in the meantime but little change has taken place in the political and social aspect of Ashantee.

May I, then, as one sincerely interested in all that concerns West Africa, respectfully suggest that your father's account of his journey to Coomassie, and of what he saw and heard there, be reprinted and published in such a form as you may consider most acceptable to the public?

Very faithfully yours,

A. Swanzy.

Mrs. Tedlie Hutchison Hale,
58, *Harley Street.*

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GLOSSARY.

Croom. A town or village.

Caboceer. A chief or magistrate.

Pynin. An elder or counsellor.

Palaver. A dispute, debate, argument, or suit.

Book or Note. A certificate of a monthly pension of the African Committee, paid in trade to the Fantee Kings and Chiefs in the neighbourhood of the British Settlements, in consideration of their attachment, influence, and services; which Books or Notes were claimed by the King of Ashantee, as his by right of conquest.

Stool. Throne, seat in council, inheritance.

Custom. A festival, carnival, public ceremony, funeral rite.

Panyar. To seize or kidnap.

A Benda. Two ounces four ackies, or £9 currency.

A Periguin. Two ounces eight ackies, or £10 currency.

An Ackie. Five shillings currency.

A Tokoo. Tenpence.

A Dash. A present.

Fetish. A charm, amulet, deity. Any supernatural power or influence. Any thing sacred.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

CHAPTER I.

THE OBJECTS, AND DEPARTURE OF THE MISSION.

BOSMAN and Barbot mention the Ashantees as first heard of by Europeans about the year 1700; the latter calls it Assiantee or Inta, and writes, that it is west of Mandingo, and joins Akim on the east; he asserts its pre-eminence in wealth and power. Issert, a physician in the Danish service, who meditated a visit to Ashantee, writes, "this mighty king has a piece of gold, as a charm, more than four men can carry; and innumerable slaves are constantly at work for him in the mountains, each of whom must collect or produce two ounces of gold per diem. The Akims formerly dug much gold, but they are now forbidden by the King of Ashantee, to whom they are tributary, as well as the Aquamboos, previously a very formidable nation." Mr. Dalzel heard of the Ashantees at Dahomey, as very powerful, but imagined them, the Intas, and the Tapahs, to be one and the same nation.

Mr. Lucas, when in Mesurata, was informed that Assentai was the capital of the powerful kingdom of Tonouwah. In Mr. Murray's enlarged edition of Dr. Leyden's discoveries in Africa, we find, "the northern border of Akim extends to Tonouwah, denominated also Inta, Assientè, or Assentai, from its capital city of that name, which stands about eighteen days' journey from the Gold Coast."

In 1807 an Ashantee army reached the coast for the first time. I would refer the reader to the extract in the Appendix, from Mr. Meredith's account of the Gold Coast, as the particulars are introductory as well as interesting; and also serve to correct the misstatement in the work last quoted, that in 1808 the King of Ashantee destroyed the English fort of Annamaboe; originating, probably, from the storm of the Dutch fort at Cormantine, at that time.

The Ashantees invaded Fantee again in 1811, and the third time in 1816. These invasions inflicted the greatest miseries on the Fantees. Few were slain in battle, for they rarely dared to encounter the invaders; but the butcheries in cold blood were incredible, and thousands were dragged into the interior to be sacrificed to the superstitions of the conquerors. Famines, unmitigated by labour, succeeded the wide waste of the Fantee territory, the wretched remnant of the population abandoning itself to despair; and the prolonged blockade of Cape Coast Castle in the last invasion, engendered so much distress and hazard, that the Government having averted imminent danger by advancing a large sum of gold on account of the Fantees, earnestly desired the Committee to authorize

and enable them to venture an Embassy, to deprecate these repeated calamities, to conciliate so powerful a monarch, and to propitiate an extension of commerce. By the store ship which arrived in 1817, the African Committee forwarded liberal and suitable presents, and associated scientific with the political objects of the mission, in their instructions, which I submit in explanation.

"In order to enable you to redeem the promise to the King of Ashantee (and as we are sanguine in our hopes of the good that may result from it), we send you sundry articles as presents for him, to which you may add such others from the public stores as you may deem desirable, provided they will not materially increase the expense. The Committee are extremely anxious (and in this respect the wishes of all classes of people in this country go with them) that no exertions should be spared to become better acquainted with the Interior of Africa; and we consider the existing state of things to be most favourable for undertaking an exploratory mission into the dominions of the King of Ashantee. If, therefore, nothing shall have transpired in the interim of this despatch being received by you, to make the measure objectionable, we wish you to obtain permission from the King to send an Embassy to his capital: if granted, you will select three gentlemen (one of them from the medical department) [1] for

[1] We recommend his being well supplied with dressings, &c., for wounds and bruises, so that he may be able to assist any natives whom he may meet with requiring his aid: services of this sort give Negroes an exalted idea of white men, and are always gratefully remembered.

that service; and let them be accompanied by a respectable escort, you giving them the fullest instructions for their government. In particular, it will be necessary for them to observe, and report upon, the nature of the country; its soil and products; the names, and distances, and the latitude and longitude of the principal places; and its most remarkable natural objects: the appearance, distinguishing characters, and manners of the natives; their religion, laws, customs, and forms of government, as far as they can be ascertained; and by whom each place is governed. When at Ashantee, they should endeavour to obtain the fullest information of the countries beyond, in each direction; particularly whether any high mountains, lakes, or large rivers are known; and the width, depth, course, and direction of the latter; and whether the water, as well of the lakes as the rivers, is salt or fresh: and how far, and under what circumstances, white men may travel with safety, especially in a northerly direction. They should collect the most accurate information possible of the extent, population, and resources of the Ashantee dominions, and should report fully their opinion of the inhabitants, and of the progress they may have made in the arts of civilized life. They should be directed also, to procure and bring away (with the consent of the chiefs) any specimens of vegetable and mineral productions they may be able: and to ascertain where and how the natives collect the gold, and the extent to which the trade in that article, and in ivory, might be carried on. It would, we conceive, be a most important advantage if the King of Ashantee, and some of his chiefs, could

be prevailed upon to send one or more of their children to the Cape, to be educated at the expense of the Committee (to be attended by their own servants, if required), under the guarantee of the Governor and Council for their personal safety, and that they should be sent back when required.

"Another great object would be, to prevail upon the King to form, and keep open, a path not less than six feet wide, from his capital, as far as his territories extend towards Cape Coast, you engaging on the part of the Committee to continue it from that point to Cape Coast, which we presume may be done at a very small expense, by means of monthly allowances to the chiefs of such villages as be in that line; upon condition that they shall not allow the path to be overgrown with underwood, or otherwise obstructed.

"It may perhaps be found, that high mountains, or a large river, may be not many days' journey beyond Ashantee; in which case, if the gentlemen composing the Embassy feel themselves secure in the attempt, they may probably be disposed to proceed so far. In such event, we authorize you to pay their drafts for any moderate sums which they may find it necessary to expend, as well as for the general objects of the mission.

"Besides the escort of which we have spoken, we think it necessary, or at least extremely important, that the Embassy should be accompanied by natives of character and consequence, conversant with the Ashantee language, in whom you have perfect confidence, selected, one from each of the towns of Cape Coast, Accra, and Appollonia, to whom you may make reasonable allowances for their time and trouble.

"We have said that you should obtain the permission of the King of Ashantee to send the Embassy: we have doubts of the expediency of requiring hostages; but, we presume you will concur with us in thinking, it will be necessary, before it leaves Cape Coast, that a man of consequence should be specially sent down by the King, to serve as a guide and protector; and who, on his journey to Cape Coast, may arrange with the messenger whom you may send to the King, respecting the places at which the Embassy may stop to refresh, and give directions to open the paths that may be overgrown.

"The gentlemen whom you may select, will of course be well advised by you not to interfere with any customs of the natives, however absurd; or in any way to give them offence. And they cannot too strongly impress upon the minds of the King and people of Ashantee, that the only objects his Britannic Majesty has in view, are, to extend the trade with that country; to prevent all interruption to their free communication with the waterside; and to instruct their children in reading, writing, &c., from which, as may be easily pointed out, the greatest advantages must arise to the Ashantees.

"From what has been said, you, gentlemen, will perceive, that in selecting the Embassy, it is important that one of the persons composing it should be able to determine the latitude and longitude of places, and that both shall be seasoned to the climate; of ability, physical and mental; of cool tempers and moderate habits; and possessed of fortitude and perseverance; and that in the selection of their escort also, regard be

had to the qualifications of the parties in those respects. Among them there should be a bricklayer, carpenter, blacksmith, gunsmith, and cooper, with proper tools; if these persons can be spared for the purpose. We wish also they should take with them a number of *certificates regarding Major Peddie,* and his companions, to be circulated as distinctly as possible in the interior; for though the period may be past when they might have been useful to those travellers, it is yet possible that they may be of use in making generally known the object of Government in sending white men to explore that country."

The suggestion of hostages was wholly impracticable, for there was not even time for a communication with the King. A variety of circumstances conspired to urge the immediate despatch of the mission; our interests, to say the least, imperiously demanded its early interference; and had we waited for a formal permission from the King to relieve the difficulties of the enterprise, the rainy season would have been too far advanced, and the critical moment have escaped us. The Governor thought it more advisable to despatch the mission without an escort, and two native soldiers only were added to the bearers of the baggage. The perusal of the Governor's instructions will be satisfactory to the reader:

CAPE COAST CASTLE, *April 19th,* 1817.

FREDERICK JAMES, ESQ.,
Member of Council and Governor of Accra.

SIR,—In accepting your voluntary offer of conducting the Embassy to the King of Ashantee, I have every

reason to believe, that from your long experience in this country, and your knowledge of the manners and habits of the natives, it will terminate in a manner highly creditable to yourself, and eventually prove of the greatest importance to the commercial interest of Great Britain, which is the more immediate object of the mission; however, as many subjects of scientific research may be associated with it, they are particularly recommended to your attention. For this purpose Mr. Bowdich will accompany you; and I have no doubt he will be found perfectly qualified to make the necessary observations, in which you will afford him every facility and assistance. He is provided with instruments for determining the latitude and longitude of places. Mr. Hutchison, writer, and Mr. Tedlie, assistant surgeon, will also be attached to the expedition.

The Ashantees, who are appointed your guides, have been selected by the Ashantee captain who is now here. They will, I hope, aid and assist you in everything that lays in their power.

In addition to the Committee's instructions, a copy of which you have herewith, you will attend to the following:

On the subject of your journey, I have nothing to observe further, than, that I hope you will take every opportunity of travelling when there will be the least exposure to the sun, as the officers who accompany you have been but a short time in the country, and every precaution will be necessary for the preservation of their health.

As soon as may be convenient after your arrival at the Ashantee capital, you will of course see the King,

and deliver him the various presents in the name of the African Company, to be received by him as pledges of the harmony and friendship which is ever to subsist between them; and also of his good will towards the natives residing under the protection of their different forts. You will not fail to impress upon his mind, the great power, wealth, and consequence of the British nation, and how much it is the interest of himself and his subjects, to promote and perpetuate their present free intercourse with the water side. In the course of your interview many circumstances will doubtless occur, which will suggest various other matters proper to be mentioned to the King, all which I shall leave entirely to your own discretion.

You will acquaint the King, that in order to secure a correct communication between him and myself, I request his permission to allow an officer to reside constantly at Commassey, who will defray all his own expenses, and for whom you will build a house without loss of time. A carpenter, bricklayer, and cooper are sent with you, and you will leave them with Mr. Hutchison, who will remain as Resident. On your departure you will give him full instructions in writing for his future government, a copy of which you will deliver me upon your return.

You will keep an exact diary of every circumstance possessing the least interest, a copy of which you will transmit me by every opportunity.

In the course of your stay in the Ashantee country, you will embrace every occasion of becoming acquainted with the politics of that nation, of ascertaining its extent and boundaries, the power of the King over the

lives and property of his subjects, the probable force he could bring into the field, the number of his allies, the sources and amount of his revenues. Whether he is tributary to any other power, and what nations in his neighbourhood are tributary to him? The amount of tribute, and in what articles paid? The rule of succession to the throne? What are the punishments for crimes of all descriptions? Who are the persons of most consequence next to the King? The names of their offices, and the extent of their power: by whom, or how paid? What are the most prominent features in the character, manners, and habits of the people, &c. &c. &c.?

Are any human sacrifices made? Upon what occasions, and to what extent? How are prisoners of war now disposed of?

Of what nation are the Moors that frequent the Ashantee country, and for what purpose do they go there?

Ascertain the current medium of exchange, whether gold, or cowries; also the usual prices at which the Ashantees sell the goods they purchase from the Europeans on the sea coast; and the extent of their commercial relations with the interior.

You will inquire whether any European travellers have ever been seen or heard of in any of the countries to the northward; and what became of them? Whether anything be known of the river Niger, or Joliba, as it is called by the natives? This information you will probably obtain from the Moors.

Ascertain the position of the Doncoe country, and the city of Kong; also the mountains of that name.

Refer to Park's Travels, and acquire as much information as possible of the regions lying between Ashantee and the last places he visited. In short, leave nothing undone that may add to our present imperfect geographical knowledge of the interior.

You will receive herewith copies of certificates relative to Major Peddie's expedition, which you will distribute amongst any persons you find travelling into the interior from Ashantee.

It would be of the first importance to have a road cut directly down to Cape Coast; and this you will urge to the King in the strongest manner. Your observations will, of course, enable you to point out the proper directions.

I enclose a sketch of a treaty, and it would be highly desirable if you could procure its ratification by the King. He might perhaps make some objection at first, but may be persuaded at length, by your address, and reasoning. If he wished any trifling alteration made, you might use your discretion in this respect.

You will acquaint the King, it is my wish that in future he receive his company's pay at this Castle, and not at Accra, as formerly. Should he say anything of an increase to his present allowance, you may give him hopes that it will be granted to a reasonable extent, provided the objects of this mission be fulfilled, and after twelve months' experience shall have proved the sincerity of his friendship to the British Government, and to the natives resident under its protection at the various forts on the coast.

From the jealous disposition of the natives of Africa, it is highly probable, that in the prosecution of your

inquiries, you will be subject to many unfavourable suspicions. These you will take all possible care to remove, by the most candid explanations on every point that may be required.

You will particularly explain to the King, the ill-treatment the people of Cape Coast have experienced from those of Elmina, which has added very much to the distresses they have for some time suffered from the extreme scarcity of provisions; and there is reason to believe, that this unjust persecution has been induced, from their presuming on their connexion with the Ashantees. Being perfectly aware that it has been done without the concurrence of the King; I have no doubt but he will, by a proper representation of the affair from you, exert his influence, and prevent what is at present to be apprehended, and what the Elminas are endeavouring to provoke—a war between the two people.

In all cases not provided for in these instructions, you have of course a discretionary power, which I am convinced you will make use of with deliberation and prudence, and with becoming zeal for the service upon which you are employed.

Wishing you a prosperous journey and a safe return,

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

JOHN HOPE SMITH.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROUTE, AND RECEPTION OF THE MISSION.

THE mission left Cape Coast Castle on the morning of the 22nd of April, with the intention of quitting the water side at Moree, three miles and a half to the eastward; but on reaching it, we were told that the path thence to Payntree's croom, always bad, was then impassable from the rains; and that we must proceed to Annamaboe before we struck into the bush for the interior.

The reluctance of the carriers, who had been pressed into the service by the authorities of the town, became thus early almost insuperable; the consideration of pay and subsistence, and the reflection, that the dearth inflicted by the invasions the mission was to deprecate, allowed them but a bare existence at home, were entirely lost in their aversion to the undertaking, which was equally influenced by jealousy and indolence: eleven deserted the first day; and the slender authority of the King and caboceers of Annamaboe, delayed the procuring of others to replace them until the next evening. One party was then started, attended by a soldier and a messenger, as they persisted in laying down their loads, even in the town; and many of the

Annamaboes who had been procured, after lifting their packages, which were of moderate weight, walked off again, with the most insolent indifference. The devices by which these people displayed their ill will were peculiarly their own, and none could be more ingeniously tormenting. At four o'clock on Thursday morning we started the remainder of the packages, and followed them at half-past six. Proceeding about two miles in a N.N.W. direction, we descended a steep hill, a quarter of a mile in length, and entered a beautiful valley, profusely covered with pines, aloes, and lilies; and richly varied with palm, banana, plantain, and guava trees: the view was refreshed by gentle risings crowned with cotton trees of a stupendous size. I never saw soil so rich, or vegetation so luxuriant.

The first croom we reached was Quama's, about three miles and a half from Annamaboe; it presented but a few hovels; and we passed through three others, Simquoi, Taphoo, and Nasmam, just as wretched and insignificant, before we reached Booka, romantically situated amidst the luxuriant foliage of a high hill, terminating the valley. Abra is about three miles eastward of this croom: it has been entirely deserted since the last invasion, the Ashantee army under Appia Nanu having made it their head-quarters. It formerly exceeded Annamaboe, but the little that now remains is in ruin, the inhabitants having retired to the small crooms of their caboceer, or Captain Quaggheree.

Passing through Tachradi, which scarcely existed but in name, we ascended a gentle rising, with a small croom, called Acroofroom, on the left hand. The astonishment of its miserable inhabitants engaging our attention,

the extensive area of the summit burst upon us with the more effect. It was environed by small groves; and clumps of cotton trees rose so happily in frequent spots, as to afford all the scenery of a romantic little park; the broken rays of the sun stealing through the small trees in the distance, to make the deep shade of the foreground more imposing. The path then became more hilly, and the landscape fuller of wood: our descents and risings frequently through long vistas, so richly gilded with the sun on the summits, that, impressed with the description of Issert, we naturally yielded to the expectation, in ascending each eminence, that it would afford us the delightful prospect of an open country; but we were disappointed, and passing through Dunnasee and Assoquah, both small crooms, the latter situated on a long level, about three miles and a half from Acroofroom, we shortly after arrived at Payntree's.

On the higher hills the soil was generally gravel, with large stones; on the lesser, white flint and whinstone abounded; the levels presented few stones, and the earth was black, strong, and rich, producing grass from four to ten feet high. The country was very thinly inhabited, and more sparingly cultivated, the cassada frequent, but producing little from the want of cultivation.

I made Payntree's croom barely fifteen miles from Annamaboe; judging from time, it was guessed to be eighteen or twenty; but the impediments which the path almost incessantly presented to a hammock, the inequalities of the ground, and many delays which insensibly consumed the time, conspired to make such

a calculation of distance very fallacious. The plan I adopted throughout, though laborious, entitled me to more confidence; and the observations confirmed the pretension. Mr. Tedlie, who was always just ahead of myself, took the angles of the path by his compass, which I pencilled as he uttered them, with their several lengths, allowing four yards and a half for every six paces. It is allowed too by the natives to be an easy four hours' walk. Several hours elapsed before all the carriers came up; most of those who had been started by us the preceding day, slept in the bush, and one more had deserted.

The prevailing courses and their proportions were N. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. by W. $\frac{1}{8}$, N.N.W. $\frac{1}{8}$, N.N.E. $\frac{1}{8}$; the rest of the distance being made up of small lengths, in every point of the compass, from S.W. to S.E.; the variation $17\frac{3}{4}°$ W. The latitude of Payntree, by two altitudes of the sun, was 5° 20′ 30″ N.; the longitude, by the course and distance, as afterwards corrected, 1° 47′ W.

We received the compliments of Payntree and several caboceers, under a large tree, and were then conducted to a neat and comfortable dwelling, which had been prepared for us; a small square area afforded a shed for cooking in on one side, and a sleeping room in each of the others, open in front, but well thatched, and very clean; from this we passed to our sitting-room, the floor of which was elevated about two feet from the ground.

The croom was prettily situated on a level, encircled by very fine trees, and consisted of a very broad and well-cleaned street of small huts, framed of bamboo, and neatly thatched. Just beyond the north end of

the croom, there was a stream running to the N.N.E. and more than a mile of marshy ground was distinguished by the deeper shade and luxuriance of the foliage. We observed a great number of small birds, which were even more beautiful from their delicate symmetry than their brilliant plumage; they were generally green, with black wings, and their nests hanging from the trees.

The Ashantee captain, who expected to continue there some months on the King's business, sent us a sheep, pleading the scarcity, and his being a stranger, as apologies for so small a present. Old Payntree was attentive and obliging; he dashed us some fowls, yams, and palm wine. We remained there the next day, to allow our people to procure four days' subsistence, as they would not be able to meet with provision on the path during that period.

I walked with Mr. Tedlie along a very neat path, well fenced, and divided by *stiles*, to a corn plantation of at least twenty acres, and well cultivated. Payntree's farm-house was situated here, and afforded superior conveniences: a fowl-house, a pigeon-house, and a large granary raised on a strong stage. As we returned we paid him a visit, and were refreshed with some excellent palm wine; his dwelling was a square of four apartments, which were entered from an outer one, where a number of drums were kept; the angles were occupied by the slaves, and his own room, which had a small inner chamber, was decked with muskets, blunderbusses, cartouch belts fantastically ornamented, and various insignia. The order, cleanliness, and comfort, surprised us the sun had ust set, and a cheerful

fire on a clean hearth supported the evening meal. The old man was seated in his state chair, diverting himself with his children and younger wives, the elder one was looking on from the opposite apartment with happy indifference; it was the first scene of domestic comfort I had witnessed among the natives. There was a small plantation or garden neatly fenced in, near the house, for the supply of the family.

On Saturday, the 26th, we left Payntree's croom, and proceeded through two romantic little valleys, with a few huts in each; the variety of trees increased with the number, and ornamented the hills with almost every tint and character of foliage; the path was frequently covered with water. Just before we reached Cottacoomacasa, a most beautiful landscape opened, the foreground darkly shaded with large cotton trees, and the distance composed of several picturesque little hills; their fanciful outlines, and the beautiful variety of fresh and sombre tint of the small groves which encircled them, forcibly reminded me of the celebrated ride by Grongar Hill, from Carmarthen to Llandilo.

Cottacoomacasa is about six miles and a quarter from Payntree's croom, and consisted but of a few miserable huts and sheds, which scarcely afforded shelter, and were close and filthy. I took the angles of a cotton tree near us, and the height proved to be 139 feet; generally speaking, those we had passed were, to appearance, much higher. The bearers had all settled themselves here, and not contented with a long rest, refused for some time to proceed until the next day; several were intoxicated with the rum from some ankers they had designedly broken. We started again, how-

ever, about half-past three, and almost immediately entered a large forest impervious to the sun; the risings were frequent but gentle; the path, crooked and overgrown, presented such constant obstacles to a hammock, that Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Tedlie, and myself, were glad to dismount, and found it was much more comfortable, as well as more expeditious, to walk; the only inconvenience was the troops of large black ants, which were too thick to be avoided, and stung us sadly. We passed two little streams running E.N.E. About six miles from Cottacoomacasa we found all the baggage, the people making their fires, and settling themselves for the night; it was almost dark; Quamina, our Ashantee guide, had gone on without us, and Mr. James we knew must be far behind; we therefore determined to halt for the night, and our hammocks were slung to the trees. The distance marched this day was twelve miles. The longitude of Cottacoomacasa was one mile E. of that of Payntree by account, that of our resting-place 1° 46′ 30″ W., and the latitude 5° 28′ N.

The next morning we continued our march through the same dark solitude, and passing three small streams running E. we reached Mansue soon after ten o'clock. We had scarcely seated ourselves under a tattered shed, which could not defend us from the burning sun, when we were encircled by the cooking fires of the party, and nothing but violence could remove them to a proper distance.

Mansue had been the great Fantee market for slaves from the interior, and its former consequence was evident from the extent of its site, over which a few sheds only were now scattered.

We proceeded again at one o'clock, and passing through a small river, Assooneara, running eastward, we came to a second, called Okee, running in the same direction to the Amissa, which falls into the sea between Annamaboe and Tantum. We passed five or six swamps, one nearly half a mile long; in these the soil was a dark clay, but otherwise gravelly. We halted in the woods at a spot where our guide Quamina was busied in cutting down the underwood to accommodate himself and his women; the bearers, resolute in their perverseness, had gone on with our provisions and clothes. The ground of our resting-place was very damp, and swarmed with reptiles and insects; we had great difficulty in keeping up our fires, which we were the more anxious to do after a visit from a panther; an animal which, the natives say, resembles a small pig, and inhabits the trees, continued a shrill screeching through the night; and occasionally a wild hog bounced by, snorting through the forest, as if closely pursued. This day's distance was eight miles, and the course N. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. by E. $\frac{1}{6}$. Latitude and longitude by account 5° 34′ N. and 1° 48′ W. Thermometer in shade 6 a.m. 74.

We started the next morning at seven o'clock, and after three miles and a half crossed a small river called Gaia, and sometimes Aniabirrim, from a croom of that name being formerly in its neighbourhood; it was ten yards wide and two feet deep, and ran to the E. just across the path, but afterwards N.N.E. to the Amissa. Here Mr. Hutchison waited for Mr. James to come up, whilst Mr. Tedlie and myself walked on to overtake the people. The doom and iron-wood trees were fre-

quent; the path was a labyrinth of the most capricious windings, the roots of the cotton trees obstructing it continually, and our progress was generally by stepping and jumping up and down, rather than walking; the stems or caudices of these trees projected from the trunks like flying buttresses, their height frequently twenty feet. Immense trunks of fallen trees presented constant barriers to our progress, and increased our fatigues from the labour of scaling them; we were also frequently obliged to wait the cutting away of the underwood before we could proceed, even on foot. The large trees were covered with parasites and convolvuli, and the climbing plants, like small cables, ascending the trunks to some height, abruptly shot downwards, crossed to the opposite trees, and threaded each other in such a perplexity of twists and turnings, that it soon became impossible to trace them in the general entanglement. We passed through two small streams running S., and several swamps, richly covered with palm trees. Parrots and crown birds were numerous. At the end of ten miles we came to a small river called Quatoa, four yards wide, also running eastward to the Amissa; and immediately after to a few sheds bearing the same name, where we found the last party of the bearers all lying down, and a soldier ineffectually endeavouring to rouse them: we started them with difficulty. A mile and a half thence we met with the Okee again, running over its rocky bed in a transparent stream, which reflected the richest foliage; its course S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., the breadth nine yards, and we stepped across it from rock to rock. We soon afterwards walked through the Antoonso, a

smaller river running W.S.W., which probably crossed the path to the eastward in one of the small streams near Cottacoomacasa, as every report confirmed its also running to the Amissa; it was very near Fousou, where we had scarcely arrived, before the Fantees, such was their perverseness, insisted upon going on; the Cape Coast messengers either had no influence or would not exert it; we soon stopped them with the assistance of Quamina, our Ashantee guide, Mr. James not coming up until late in the evening. Fousou was formerly a large town, but had been destroyed by the Ashantee invasion of 1807; it presented but a few sheds, in one of which we observed the Ashantee traders to deposit yams and plantains to subsist them on their return, so severe was the scarcity in the Fantee country; we could purchase nothing, and were admitted to the best hovel with reluctance. This day's distance was fourteen miles. The courses N. $\frac{1}{2}$, N.N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. by W. $\frac{1}{8}$. The latitude of Fousou by observation was 5° 43′ 20″ N., and the longitude by account 1° 52′ W.

The next morning, the 29th of April, we marched seven miles to Ancomassa, a name given to half a dozen sheds; the path was still of the same rugged nature, and the gloom unvaried. A strong fragrance was emitted from the decaying plants and trees of the mimosa kind, whilst others in the same incipient state of putrefaction were very offensive. We passed through two small rivers, Bettensin and Soubin, six yards wide, and shallow; they both ran eastward to the Owa, of which I could not learn more than that it emptied itself into the Boosempra.

We proceeded at four o'clock, and had not gone two miles on our gloomy route before it became dark. The path was level, but very swampy, and generally covered with water. The fire-flies spangled the herbage in every direction, and from the strength of their light, alternately excited the apprehension of wild beasts, and the hope that we approached the resting place our guide, whom we never saw after starting, had told us of in the morning. The greatest fear of the people was of the spirits of the woods (whom Mr. Park's interpreter, Johnson, propitiated by a sacrifice between Jing and Gangaddi), and the discordant yells in which they rivalled each other to keep up their courage, mingled with the howls and screeches from the forest, imposed a degree of horror on this dismal scene, which associated it with the imaginations of Dante. Three or four times we suddenly emerged from the most awful gloom into extensive areas, on which the stars shed a brilliancy of light gradually softened into the deep shade which encompassed them; they were the sites of large and populous crooms destroyed in the Ashantee invasions. About nine o'clock we discovered a few miserable sheds, which the noise of the bearers, who had long arrived, convinced us to be Accomfodey. We had passed two small rivers, the Aprinisee and Annuia, both running to the Boosempra. This day's distance was eleven miles, and the courses N. $\frac{1}{3}$, N. by W. $\frac{1}{3}$. The latitude and longitude by account 5° 49′ N. and 1° 55′ W. Thermometer 11 a.m. 80.

We marched early the next morning. The scenery of the forest, excepting on the banks of the small rivers, was very naked of foliage, and only presented a

harsh and ragged confusion of stems and branches intricately blended. We passed a small river soon after leaving Accomfodey, bearing the same name and running eastward; and shortly after another, six yards wide and two feet deep (the Berrakoo), running N.E. to the Boosempra. The path was sometimes trackless, and appeared to have been little used since the invasion of 1807; several human skulls were scattered through this dark solitude, the relics of the butchery. We halted about two o'clock by Mr. James's direction, and passed the night in the forest. This day's distance was eight miles, the prevailing courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. by W. $\frac{1}{8}$, N.N.W. $\frac{1}{8}$, N. by E. $\frac{1}{8}$. The latitude and longitude by account 5° 53′ N. 1° 55′ W. Thermometer 2 p.m. $88\frac{1}{2}$, 7 p.m. $82\frac{1}{2}$.

The next morning we passed some sheds, on the sites of the crooms Dansamsou and Meakirring. At the end of five miles and a quarter, the herbage to the right disclosed the cheerful reflections of the sun from the water; and we descended through a small vista of the forest, to the banks of the Boosempra or Chamah river. Nothing could be more beautiful than its scenery: the bank on the south side was steep, and admitted but a narrow path; that on the north sloping, on which a small Fetish house, under the shade of a cachou tree, fixed the eye; whence it wandered over a rich variety of tint and foliage, in which light and shade were most happily blended: the small rocks stole through the herbage of the banks, and now and then ruffled the water; the doom trees towering in the shrubbery, waved to the most gentle air a rich foliage of dark green, mocking the finest

touch of the pencil; the tamarind and smaller mimosas heightening its effect by their livelier tint, and the more piquant delicacy of their leaf; the cotton trees overtopped the whole, enwreathed in convolvuli, and several elegant little trees, unknown to me, rose in the background, intermixed with palms, and made the coup d'œil enchanting. The bright rays of the sun were sobered by the rich reflections of the water; and there was a mild beauty in the landscape, uncongenial to barbarism, which imposed the expectation of elegance and refinement. I attempted a sketch, but it was far beyond my rude pencil; the expression of the scene could only have been traced in the profile of every tree; and it seemed to defy any touches, but those of a Claude or a Wilson, to depict the life of its beauty. I took two angles from a base on the south side, which gave the width of the river, forty-three yards; the depth was seven feet, and the course N.W. ½ W. with a very strong current. A small river, called Nimeä, ran into it, close to our right as we landed: we crossed in the hollow trunk of a tree, thirty feet long, the ends plastered up with sticks and swish.

Mansue was said to have been the last town of the Fantee territory; but we had no opportunity for comparison until we passed the river, the country thitherto presenting all the gloom of depopulation, and the forest fast recovering the sites of the large towns destroyed in the Ashantee invasions. The inhabitants of the few wretched hovels, remotely scattered, seemed as if they had fled to them as outcasts from society; they were lost even to curiosity, and their

manners were brutal and sullen.[1] We could purchase nothing for our subsistence.

The scene brightened from our crossing the Boosempra; the path improved, and Prasoo, the first town, only three quarters of a mile from the river, presented a wide and clean street of tolerably regular houses; the inhabitants clean and cheerful, left their various occupations to gratify their curiosity, and saluted us in a friendly and respectful manner: indeed the Assins may be considered, collectively, a more mannerly and orderly people than the Ashantees. Kickiwherree, one mile and a half distant, was a larger town, not so regular, but presenting the same neat appearance, improved by the whitewashing of many of the houses. We halted here under the ganian[2] tree, used, generally speaking, for recreation only, palavers being talked in the open fronts of the houses. We were conducted to a comfortable dwelling, affording us four very clean rooms, about twelve feet by seven, in which there were shelves containing many articles of superior domestic comfort; a curtain or screen of bamboo let down in the open front, and the floors raised about a foot and a half from the ground, were washed daily with an earth of the neighbourhood, which coloured them Etruscan red. The iron-stone abounded. Kickiwherree was seven miles from the previous resting-place, and the prevailing courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$,

[1] Every account I received afterwards, confirmed the boundary of the Fantee and Assin territories to be between Mansue and Fousou; also that Ancomassa, Accomfodey, Dansamsou, Meakirring, &c., &c., had all been large Assin crooms, destroyed with many others in their neighbourhood in the Ashantee invasion of 1807.

[2] This is the same tree as the banian or India fig.

N. by W. $\frac{1}{7}$. The latitude by observation was 5° 56′ 40″ N; the longitude by account 1° 57′ W. Thermometer 8 a.m. 77; 1 p.m. 91.

My observations had not been so frequent as I wished; the nature of the country and the season of the year were both very unfavourable to them. I worked the double altitudes, invariably by Dr. Pemberton's rule in Keith's Trigonometry, which requires no assumed latitude, and is in all cases accurate.

Mr. James having determined to rest the next day at Kickiwherree, we did not proceed until Saturday, the 3rd of May. We passed through a small river close to the town, called the Ading, six yards wide and two feet deep; and soon after a second, the Animiasoo, nine yards wide and three feet deep, both running to the Boosempra; close to the latter was a large croom of the same name, the seat of Cheboo's government. Pagga and Atobiasee were also large crooms near each other, and within four miles of Kickiwherree. At Atobiasee was a small river called Prensa, five yards wide and two feet deep, which ran E.S.E. to the Boosempra: two miles thence we came to Becquama, a very old croom, with a river nine yards wide, called Prapong, running E. by S. to the Boosempra; and at the end of nine miles we halted at Asharaman, a small croom on an eminence, where the Assins, under Apootey and Cheboo, first engaged the Ashantees in 1807. There was a small plot of corn near this croom, the first we had seen since we left Payntree, though every croom was surrounded by a tract of cultivated land, or plantation of plantains. The path continued through forest. Distance eight miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$. Latitude

by observation 5° 59′ 20″. Longitude by course and distance 1° 57′ 40″ W. Thermometer 6 a.m. 76, p.m. 89.

The next day we passed through Ansa, a large croom, where Amoo had governed; north-west of which, at a little distance, was Aboiboo, the residence of his enemy Apootey. A small river near Ansa, called Parakoomee, eleven yards wide and three feet deep, ran south to a larger, called Ofim or Foom, which rises six days northward of Coomassie, and falls into the Boosempra some miles westward of our crossing. The path was very swampy, and we did not reach Akrofroom until three o'clock: this was by far the largest croom we had seen. The heavy rains during the night floated us in our lodgings, and, as Quamina reported, rendered the path to Moisee impassable for the next day; consequently, we did not proceed until Tuesday, the 6th. Distance twelve miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{3}$, N.N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$. Latitude by observation 6° 5′ 40″. Longitude C and D 2° 2′ W. The path, still through forest, presented frequent acclivities, and the iron-stone and a soft grey rock abounded; the soil was sometimes gravelly, but generally of a red-coloured clay used in the native pottery. We passed the Parakoomee again twice, and at the end of eleven miles halted at Moisee,

"Cingebant silvæ; quem collibus undique curvis,"

the last Assin town at the foot of three high hills covered with wood, bearing W.N.W., N., and N.N.E.; the barriers of the Ashantee kingdom. Course N. $\frac{1}{3}$, N.W. by N. $\frac{1}{7}$, N. by E. $\frac{1}{8}$. Latitude by observation 6° 8′ 50″ N. Longitude C and D 2° 4′ 20″ W. The thermometer was broken on the 4th.

We passed the northern boundary the next morning; the ascent was a mile and a half in length, and very rocky; a small river called the Bohmen ran S.W. to the Jim, which falls into the Ofim: the water of the Bohmen is said to instil eloquence, and numerous Ashantees repair annually to drink of it; it flowed in a very clear stream, over a bed of gravel, and was three feet deep and eight yards broad. The expectation of an open country was again disappointed; I bore several eminent points, in the hope of being able to do so again at some distance, and of thus, with the intermediate course, checking the distance computed by paces; but the forest soon shut them out entirely. The first Ashantee croom was Quesha; and we soon after passed through Fohmannee, which had been a very considerable town. We stopped there awhile at the request of a venerable old man, who regaled us with some palm wine and fruit; his manners were very pleasing, and made it more painful to us to hear that his life was forfeited to some superstitious observances, and that he only waited the result of a petition to the King to commiserate his infirmities so far as to allow him to be executed at his own croom, and to be spared the fatigue of a journey to the capital; he conversed cheerfully with us, congratulated himself on seeing white men before he died, and spread his cloth over the log with an emotion of dignity rather than shame: his head arrived at Coomassie the day after we had. On ascending the hill, the soil became a dark brown clay, and very productive. We passed the first large plantation of corn we had seen since we left Payntree, and halted at Doompassee. Distance six miles. Courses

N. $\frac{1}{3}$, N.N.W. $\frac{1}{5}$, N.W. $\frac{1}{6}$. Latitude by observation 6° 11′ 30″.

Doompassee had been a very large croom, but the caboceer having intrigued with one of Sai Cudjoe's wives, who had permission to visit her family in this place, the greater part of it was destroyed in consequence, and the caboceer decapitated: the woman possessing irresistible art in practising upon the numerous admirers of her beauty, the King spared her life, and employed her thenceforth to inveigle those distant caboceers whose lives or properties were desirable to him. It was the most industrious town on the path; cloths, beads, and pottery were manufacturing in all directions, and the blacksmiths' forges were always at work. The intelligence of the beginning of the King's fetish week, and Mr. James's attack of fever, delayed us at Doompassee, and a messenger was despatched in the interim to announce our approach. During our stay, I observed an eclipse of Jupiter's first satellite, which gave the longitude 2° 6′ W.

We did not leave Doompassee until the 14th of May; after two miles, passing a small stream running N.W., we ascended a high hill, on which a large croom, called Tiabosoo, was situated. I looked into a pit here six feet deep; the first stratum was vegetable mould, the second gravel, the third a kind of potter's clay, and the remaining of brittle stone of a reddish brown, resembling that they call cabouc in the East Indies. The next croom was Sanquanta, where the path took an easterly direction, and about seven miles from Doompassee we passed Datiasoo, where large quantities of pottery were manufacturing, exclusively:

it was not more than a mile distant from Dadawasee, where we found a messenger from the King, expressing his regret that we had come up in the rainy season, as he had heard it was a very unhealthy one for white men, and appointing us to enter the capital on the Monday following; he sent us a present of a sheep, forty yams, and two ounces of gold for our table; he had also given six ackies to our messenger, who returned at the same time. The path had been cleared by the King's order, the plantations became more frequent and extensive, and numerous paths branching off from that we travelled, showed that the country was thickly inhabited, and the intercourse of the various parts direct and necessary for an interchange of manufacture and produce: the crooms hitherto had appeared insulated. The acassey or blue dye-plant grew profusely. Distance seven miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. by W. $\frac{1}{7}$, N.N.W. $\frac{1}{7}$, N.N.E. $\frac{1}{6}$. Latitude by observation 6° 16′ 20″ N. Longitude C and D 2° 7′ 30″ W.

The next day, leaving Dadawasee, close to which was another large croom called Modjawee, we descended a very steep hill, and passed the Dankaran or Mankaran, a small river, in the rainy season eleven yards wide and four feet deep, running to the Birrim; not far from this river was Sahnfoo, and a short distance from that croom, a smaller river called Yansee, running N.N.W. We then passed through Korraman, near which was the small river Dansabow, running westward, and three other large crooms, Aquinasee (having a neatly fenced burial ground), Amafou, and Agabimah; crossing another small river called Soubirree, near the latter, we reached Assiminia, distant eight miles from Dada-

wasee. The path was frequently eight feet wide, and kept as neatly as that of a garden in the environs of the crooms, which now disclosed themselves very prettily at some distance. Courses N. $\frac{1}{3}$, N. by E. $\frac{1}{6}$, N.N.E. $\frac{1}{6}$. Latitude by observation 6° 22′. Longitude C and D 2° 7′ 50″ W.

There was a violent tornado in the night, during almost the whole of which the rain continued in torrents, increasing the small streams near the town from ankle to three feet deep. Almost all the inhabitants were employed in weaving the staple manufacture of Assiminia, which was formerly of much greater extent. Mr. James rested here the whole of the next day, and on Saturday we proceeded through Boposoo (on a very high hill), Agemum, Yoko, and Abountum; near which we crossed the Biaqua, running west to the Jim, and about seven yards wide and two feet deep; between this and Sarrasou, where we halted, were two large crooms, Pootooaga and Fiasou.

The path was continually well cleared: each croom presented one wide central street, with the ganian or cachou trees at the extremities. The soil ceased to be sandy, and became a reddish earth: we observed some quartz, but silex prevailed. Distance eleven miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$, N.N.E. $\frac{1}{5}$. Latitude by observation 6° 30′ 20″. Longitude C and D 2° 6′ 30″.

The river Dah runs close to Sarrasou, rising at Sekooree near Dwabin, and falling into the Ofim at Measee in the Warsaw path; it is generally about sixteen yards wide and four feet deep. There was an ingenious fishing weir in this river: two rows of very strong wicker-work were fixed across it, supported

against the rapidity of the stream by large stakes, driven into the ground obliquely on each side of them, and connected above and below by the trunks of two large trees. The funnel-shaped baskets, thickly inserted at the bottom, were of split cane, and about twelve feet long. There are large plantations of corn around Sarrasou, which is a great nursery for pigs. We left it on Monday morning, the 19th, and, passing through a small croom, Oyoko, stopped at another, Agogoo, about four miles distant, to dress ourselves in full uniform. The soil from Sarrasou was a rich black mould, and there were continued plantations of corn, yams, ground-nuts, terraboys, and encruma: the yams and ground-nuts were planted with much regularity in triangular beds, with small drains around each, and carefully cleared from weeds.

Two miles from Agogoo, we crossed the marsh which insulates Coomassie; the breadth at that part forty yards, and the depth three feet. Being within a mile of the capital, our approach was announced to the King, who desired us by his messengers to rest at a little croom, called Patiasoo, until he had finished washing, when captains would be deputed to conduct us to his presence. Distance $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{6}$, N.N.W. $\frac{1}{6}$.

We entered Coomassie at two o'clock, passing under a fetish, or sacrifice of a dead sheep, wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Upwards of 5000 people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture; for horns, drums, rattles, and gong-gongs were all exerted with a zeal bordering on frenzy, to subdue us by the first impression. The smoke which

encircled us, from the incessant discharges of musketry, confined our glimpses to the foreground; and we were halted whilst the captains performed their Pyrrhic dance, in the centre of a circle formed by their warriors, where a confusion of flags, English, Dutch, and Danish, were waved and flourished in all directions; the bearers plunging and springing from side to side, with a passion of enthusiasm only equalled by the captains, who followed them, discharging their shining blunderbusses so close that the flags now and then were in a blaze; and emerging from the smoke with all the gesture and distortion of maniacs. Their followers kept up the firing around us in the rear. The dress of the captains was a war-cap, with gilded rams' horns projecting in front, the sides extended beyond all proportion by immense plumes of eagles' feathers, and fastened under the chin with bands of cowries. Their vest was of red cloth, covered with fetishes and saphies[3] in gold and silver; and embroidered cases of almost every colour, which flapped against their bodies as they moved, intermixed with small brass bells, the horns and tails of animals, shells, and knives; long leopards' tails hung down their backs over a small bow covered with fetishes. They wore loose cotton trousers, with immense boots of a dull red leather, coming half-way up the thigh, and fastened by small chains to their cartouch or waist-belt; these were also ornamented with bells, horses' tails, strings of amulets, and innumerable shreds of leather; a small quiver of poisoned arrows hung from their right wrist, and they held a long iron chain between their teeth, with a scrap of Moorish writing affixed to the end

[3] Scraps of Moorish writing, as charms against evil.

of it. A small spear was in their left hands, covered with red cloth and silk tassels; their black countenances heightened the effect of this attire, and completed a figure scarcely human.

This exhibition continued about half an hour, when we were allowed to proceed, encircled by the warriors, whose numbers, with the crowds of people, made our movement as gradual as if it had taken place in Cheapside; the several streets branching off to the right presented long vistas crammed with people, and those on the left hand being on an acclivity, innumerable rows of heads rose one above another: the large open porches of the houses, like the fronts of stages in small theatres, were filled with the better sort of females and children, all impatient to behold white men for the first time; their exclamations were drowned in the firing and music, but their gestures were in character with the scene. When we reached the palace, about half a mile from the place where we entered, we were again halted, and an open file was made, through which the bearers were passed, to deposit the presents and baggage in the house assigned to us. Here we were gratified by observing several of the caboceers pass by with their trains, the novel splendour of which astonished us. The bands, principally composed of horns and flutes, trained to play in concert, seemed to soothe our hearing into its natural tone again by their wild melodies; whilst the immense umbrellas, made to sink and rise from the jerkings of the bearers, and the large fans waving around, refreshed us with small currents of air, under a burning sun, clouds of dust, and a density of atmosphere almost suffocating. We were then squeezed, at the same

funeral pace, up a long street, to an open-fronted house, where we were desired by a royal messenger to wait a further invitation from the King. Here our attention was forced from the astonishment of the crowd to a most inhuman spectacle, which was paraded before us for some minutes; it was a man whom they were tormenting previous to sacrifice; his hands were pinioned behind him, a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like the figure of 8; one ear was cut off and carried before him, the other hung to his head by a small bit of skin; there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust under each shoulder-blade; he was led with a cord passed through his nose, by men disfigured with immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him; the feeling this horrid barbarity excited must be imagined. We were soon released by permission to proceed to the King, and passed through a very broad street, about a quarter of a mile long, to the market-place.

Our observations *en passant* had taught us to conceive a spectacle far exceeding our original expectations; but they had not prepared us for the extent and display of the scene which here burst upon us: an area of nearly a mile in circumference was crowded with magnificence and novelty. The King, his tributaries, and captains, were resplendent in the distance, surrounded by attendants of every description, fronted by a mass of warriors which seemed to make our approach impervious. The sun was reflected, with a glare scarcely more supportable than the heat, from the massive gold ornaments, which glistened in every direction. More than a hundred bands burst at once on our

arrival, with the peculiar airs of their several chiefs; the horns flourished their defiances, with the beating of innumerable drums and metal instruments, and then yielded for awhile to the soft breathings of their long flutes, which were truly harmonious; and a pleasing instrument, like a bagpipe without the drone, was happily blended. At least a hundred large umbrellas, or canopies, which could shelter thirty persons, were sprung up and down by the bearers with brilliant effect, being made of scarlet, yellow, and the most showy cloths and silks, and crowned on the top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, barrels, and arms and swords of gold; they were of various shapes, but mostly dome; and the valances (in some of which small looking-glasses were inserted) fantastically scalloped and fringed; from the fronts of some, the proboscis and small teeth of elephants projected, and a few were roofed with leopards' skins, and crowned with various animals naturally stuffed. The state hammocks, like long cradles, were raised in the rear, the poles on the heads of the bearers; the cushions and pillows were covered with crimson taffeta, and the richest cloths hung over the sides. Innumerable small umbrellas, of various coloured stripes, were crowded in the intervals, whilst several large trees heightened the glare by contrasting the sober colouring ofnature.

"Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit."

The King's messengers, with gold breast-plates, made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every caboceer, which, as their household

suites occupied several spaces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation.

The caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee cloths of extravagant price, from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour as well as pattern; they were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly like the Roman toga; a small silk fillet generally encircled their temples, and massy gold necklaces, intricately wrought, suspended Moorish charms, dearly purchased, and enclosed in small square cases of gold, silver, and curious embroidery. Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel entirely of aggry beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended; small circles of gold like guineas, rings and casts of animals, were strung round their ankles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas, and rude lumps of rock gold, hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the head of one of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers; the blades were shaped like round bills, and rusted in blood; the sheaths were of leopard-skin, or the shell of a fish like shagreen. The large drums supported on the head of one man, and beaten by two others, were braced around with the thigh-bones of their enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. The kettledrums resting on the

ground were scraped with wet fingers, and covered with leopard's skin. The wrists of the drummers were hung with bells and curiously-shaped pieces of iron, which jingled loudly as they were beating. The smaller drums were suspended from the neck by scarves of red cloth; the horns (the teeth of young elephants) were ornamented at the mouth-piece with gold, and the jaw-bones of human victims. The war-caps of eagles' feathers nodded in the rear, and large fans of the wing feathers of the ostrich played around the dignitaries; immediately behind their chairs (which were of a black wood, almost covered by inlays of ivory and gold embossment) stood their handsomest youths, with corselets of leopard's skin covered with gold cockle-shells, and stuck full of small knives, sheathed in gold and silver, and the handles of blue agate; cartouch boxes of elephants' hide hung below, ornamented in the same manner; a large gold-handled sword was fixed behind the left shoulder, and silk scarves and horses' tails (generally white) streamed from the arms and waist cloth: their long Danish muskets had broad rims of gold at small distances, and the stocks were ornamented with shells. Finely-grown girls stood behind the chairs of some, with silver basins. Their stools (of the most laborious carved work, and generally with two large bells attached to them) were conspicuously placed on the heads of favourites; and crowds of small boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these, and so thickly as not to admit of our passing without treading on their feet, to which they were perfectly indifferent; their caps were of the skin of the

pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind; their cartouch belts (composed of small gourds which hold the charges, and covered with leopard or pig's skin) were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells thickly hung to them; on their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives; iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than of gold; their muskets had rests affixed of leopard's skin, and the locks a covering of the same; the sides of their faces were curiously painted in long white streaks, and their arms also striped, having the appearance of armour.

We were suddenly surprised by the sight of Moors, who afforded the first general diversity of dress; there were seventeen superiors, arrayed in large cloaks of white satin, richly trimmed with spangled embroidery; their shirts and trousers were of silk, and a very large turban of white muslin was studded with a border of different-coloured stones: their attendants wore red caps and turbans, and long white shirts, which hung over their trousers; those of the inferiors were of dark blue cloth: they slowly raised their eyes from the ground as we passed, and with a most malignant scowl.

The prolonged flourishes of the horns, a deafening tumult of drums, and the fuller concert of the intervals, announced that we were approaching the King: we were already passing the principal officers of his household; the chamberlain, the gold horn blower, the captain of the messengers, the captain for royal executions, the captain of the market, the keeper of the royal-burial ground, and the master of the bands, sat surrounded by a retinue and splendour which bespoke the dignity and importance of their offices. The cook

had a number of small services covered with leopard's skin held behind him, and a large quantity of massy silver plate was displayed before him—punch-bowls, waiters, coffee-pots, tankards, and a very large vessel with heavy handles and clawed feet, which seemed to have been made to hold incense. I observed a Portuguese inscription on one piece, and they seemed generally of that manufacture. The executioner, a man of an immense size, wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast; and the execution stool was held before him, clotted in blood, and partly covered with a cawl of fat. The King's four linguists were encircled by a splendour inferior to none, and their peculiar insignia, gold canes, were elevated in all directions, tied in bundles like fasces. The keeper of the treasury added to his own magnificence by the ostentatious display of his service; the blow-pan, boxes, scales and weights were of solid gold.

A delay of some minutes, whilst we severally approached to receive the King's hand, afforded us a thorough view of him. His deportment first excited my attention. Native dignity in princes we are pleased to call barbarous was a curious spectacle. His manners were majestic, yet courteous; and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him for a moment of the composure of the monarch. He appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance; he wore a fillet of aggry beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur-shells strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three saphies cased in gold; his bracelets were the richest mixtures of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings; his cloth was of

a dark green silk; a pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white on his forehead; also a pattern resembling an epaulette on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full-blown rose, one leaf rising above another until it covered his whole breast; his knee-bands were of aggry beads, and his ankle-strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, sankos, stools, swords, guns, and birds, clustered together; his sandals, of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep-band with small gold and silver cases of saphies; he was seated in a low chair, richly ornamented with gold; he wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence. The belts of the guards behind his chair were cased in gold, and covered with small jaw-bones of the same metal; the elephants' tails, waving like a small cloud before him, were spangled with gold, and large plumes of feathers were flourished amid them. His eunuch presided over these attendants, wearing only one massy piece of gold about his neck: the royal stool, entirely cased in gold, was displayed under a splendid umbrella, with drums, sankos, horns, and various musical instruments, cased in gold, about the thickness of cartridge paper: large circles of gold hung by scarlet cloth from the swords of state, the sheaths as well as the handles of which were also cased; hatchets of the same were intermixed with them: the breasts of the Ocrahs and various attendants were adorned with large stars, stools, crescents, and gossamer wings of solid gold.

We pursued our course through this blazing circle, which afforded to the last a variety exceeding descrip-

tion and memory; so many splendid novelties diverting the fatigue, heat, and pressure we were labouring under. We were almost exhausted, however, by the time we reached the end; when, instead of being conducted to our residence, we were desired to seat ourselves under a tree at some distance, to receive the compliments of the whole in our turn.

The swell of their bands gradually strengthened on our ears, the peals of the warlike instruments bursting upon the short but sweet responses of the flutes; the gaudy canopies seemed to dance in the distant view, and floated broadly as they were springing up and down in the foreground; flags and banners waved in the interval, and the chiefs were eminent in their crimson hammocks, amidst crowds of musketry. They dismounted as they arrived within thirty yards of us; their principal captains preceded them with the gold-handled swords, a body of soldiers followed with their arms reversed, then their bands and gold canes, pipes, and elephants' tails. The chief, with a small body-guard under his umbrella, was generally supported around the waist by the hands of his favourite slave, whilst captains holla'd, close in his ear, his warlike deeds and (strong) names, which were reiterated with the voices of Stentors by those before and behind; the larger party of warriors brought up the rear. Old captains of secondary rank were carried on the shoulders of a strong slave; but a more interesting sight was presented in the minors, or young caboceers, many not more than five or six years of age, who, overweighed by ornaments, were carried in the same manner (under their canopies), encircled by all the pomp and parade

of their predecessors. Amongst others, the grandson of Cheboo was pointed out, whom the King had generously placed on the stool of his perfidious enemy. A band of Fetish men, or priests, wheeled round and round as they passed with surprising velocity. Manner was as various as ornament; some danced by with irresistible buffoonery, some with a gesture and carriage of defiance; one distinguished caboceer performed the war dance before us for some minutes, with a large spear, which grazed us at every bound he made; but the greater number passed us with order and dignity, some slipping one sandal, some both, some turning round after having taken each of us by the hand; the attendants of others knelt before them, throwing dust upon their heads; and the Moors, apparently, vouchsafed us a blessing. The King's messengers who were posted near us, with their long hair hanging in twists like a thrum mop, used little ceremony in hurrying by this transient procession; yet it was nearly eight o'clock before the King approached.

It was a beautiful starlight night, and the torches which preceded him displayed the splendour of his regalia with a chastened lustre, and made the human trophies of the soldiers more awfully imposing. The skulls of three Banda caboceers, who had been his most obstinate enemies, adorned the largest drum: the vessels in which the boys dipped their torches were of gold. He stopped to inquire our names a second time and to wish us good-night; his address was mild and deliberate: he was followed by his aunts, sisters, and others of his family, with rows of fine gold chains around their necks. Numerous chiefs succeeded, and

it was long before we were at liberty to retire. We agreed in estimating the number of warriors at 30,000.

We were conducted to a range of spacious but ruinous buildings, which had belonged to the son of one of the former kings, and who had recently destroyed himself at a very advanced age, unable to endure the severity of disgrace. Their forlorn and dreary aspect bespoke the fortune of their master, and they required much repair to defend us from the wind and rain, which frequently ushered in the nights.

CHAPTER III.

PROCEEDINGS AND INCIDENTS UNTIL THE THIRD DESPATCH TO CAPE COAST CASTLE.

COOMASSIE, *May 22nd*, 1817.

To the Governor and Council, Cape Coast Castle.

GENTLEMEN,—The important objects of the mission, and the safety and prosperity of the Settlements, have this day demanded our public dissent from our superior officer, Mr. James. To prove the act tutelary to these objects can be our only justification.

The mission has engrossed our thoughts and exertions from the moment we were honoured by the appointments; we have felt that the credit of the Committee, the character of the service, and the good of our country were associated in the enterprise; and that we were personally responsible for these important objects, to the extent of our industry, fortitude and ability. Our reflections naturally associated obstacles commensurate with the importance of the objects affected; and to overcome the former in a manner auspicious to the latter we conceived to be the duty expected from us, as composing a mission originated to remove a portion of the formidable barriers to the interior of Africa. We anticipated prejudice, intrigue

and difficulty as inevitable, as obstacles to invigorate and not to sicken our exertions.

At Dadasey, on Wednesday the 14th instant, we received a present from the King of two ounces of gold, a sheep, and thirty yams, with a second appointment to enter his capital the succeeding Monday. When within a short distance, the messenger who announced us returned, to desire us to wait at a croom until the King had washed. We were permitted to enter soon after two o'clock, and the King received us with the most encouraging courtesy and the most flattering distinction. We paid our respects in turn (passing along a surprising extent of line) to the principal caboceers, many of remote and several of Moorish territories, and all of these encircled by retinues astonishing to us from their numbers, order and decoration. We were then requested to remove to a distant tree to receive their salutes, which procession, though simply transient, continued until past eight o'clock. It was indescribably imposing, from the variety, magnificence and etiquette. Its faint outline in Mr. Bowdich's report will impart our impression of the power and influence of the monarch we are sent to conciliate. The King, as he passed, repeated his former condescensions.

The next morning (Tuesday) the King sent to us to come and speak our palaver in the market-place, that all the people might hear it. We found him encircled by the most splendid insignia, and surrounded by his caboceers. We were received graciously. Mr. James, through his linguist, declared to the King's (who are alone allowed to speak to him in public) that the

objects of the mission were friendship and commerce; impressed the consequence of our nation, and the good feelings of the Committee and Governor towards the King, as would be testified by our presents; he submitted the wish of a residency, and of a direct path. The King inquired if we were to settle the Commenda palaver; the reply was, No! He rejoined, that "he wished the Governor of Cape Coast to settle all palavers for him with the people of the forts, and that he had thought we came to make all things right, and so to make friends with the Ashantees." The King had previously observed, as literally rendered, that "the forts belonged to him," meaning (as the context and the whole of his sentiments and conduct have confirmed) nothing humiliating to our dignity and independence, but simply that the advantages derived by the Fantee nations from the forts should now be his. He desired the officer to be pointed out to him who was to be the resident, and then inquired if that was all our palaver. He was told, Yes. He said he would give us his answer the next day.

Soon after we returned to our house, the King's linguist delivered this message:—"The King knows very well the King of England has sent him presents; if you wish to be friends with him, you must bring these presents to his own house, and show them to him and his friends, and not give them before all the people." This, in our judgment, was a policy to prevent any favourable bias of the body of caboceers and people anticipating the King's and his council's satisfaction of our motives and professions.

We attended: all the curiosity the packages excited

could not incline the King to regard them until he had desired distinctly to understand who had sent them, the King of England or the Governor. He was told the Company to whom the forts belonged under the King. The interpreter seemed to render it the King individually; it was more intelligible, and the agreeable impression it made was striking. The presents were displayed. Nothing could surpass the King's surprise and pleasure, but his warm yet dignified avowal of his obligations. "Englishmen," said he, admiring the workmanship of the different articles, "know how to do everything proper," turning to his favourites with a smile as auspicious to our interests as mortal to the intrigues of our rival. Much of the glass was broken; Mr. James expressed his regret and offered to procure more; the King replied, "The path we had come was bad and overgrown, that we had many people to look after," and waved our excuses with superior courtesy. He desired the linguists to say, "This showed him that the English were a great people; that they wished to be friends with him, to be as one with the Ashantees; that this made him much pleasure to see; (and to repeat again and again) that he thanked the King of England, the Governor at Cape Coast, and the officers who brought the presents much, very much." He made very liberal presents of liquor to our people, and delivered the distinct presents to his four principal caboceers in our sight.

We learned from Quashie, the Accra linguist, the favourable reports he had collected through his intimacy with some of the principal men. All the caboceers, he said, had thought we had come for bad, to

spy the country; the King thought so too a little; but much fetish was made, and all showed that we meant well; and now the King thought so. The mulatto sent by General Daendels, directly after Mr. Hydecoper, and who arrived just before us, had sent to the King for a pass to go back, and the King told him that he would give him this message:—"That the King had thought to do good to the Dutch, but now he sees their white men's faces he should do good to the English." This mulatto man (who is not in the service, but a free man of Elmina town) visited us afterwards, and his complaints and sentiments confirmed these reports in our favour.

On Wednesday morning the King's sisters (one the caboceer of the largest Ashantee town near the frontier) paid us a visit of ceremony, and retired to receive ours in return; their manners were courteous and dignified, and they were handed with a surprising politeness by the captains in attendance.

Mr. James being indisposed, we went by invitation to see the chief captain's horse, when the King sent to us to say he was walking that way, and requested us to get our chairs and wait, that he might bid us good-morning. Directly he saw us he ordered the procession to alter its course, and stopped to take us by the hand. The procession consisted of about 2000 men, and was marked by all the suite and parade of royalty. The caboceers that day in attendance appeared as warriors, being divested of the rich silks of the preceding day; the executioner, the master of the bands, and the cook were in the train, with suits which showed the importance of their offices; the latter was preceded by a

massy service of plate. Mr. Bowdich's report will be more particular.

The King sent his messenger this morning to repeat that he thanked the King of England and the Governor very much for yesterday.

The King was much pleased when Quashie, the Accra linguist (who is our only intelligible medium), attempted to describe the use of the sextant; consequently, when Mr. Bowdich saw the King's chief captain this morning, he offered to show it to the King with the camera obscura and telescope. The captain said it would please the King, and reported that the King was much pleased with us, that he liked to be friends with the English, that he wished to make pleasure with us, and would send for us by-and-by to do so. We have been particular in these lesser circumstances, as they are the evidence of the King's good feelings and of the fair prospect of the consummation of the mission, superior to all the prejudice and intrigue opposed to it.

We were sent for to the King's house; he was only attended by his privy-counsellors; he expressed much delight at the camera obscura and instruments. He said, "The Englishmen knew more than Dutchmen or Danes—that black men knew nothing." He then ordered our people to be dismissed, said he would look at the telescope in a larger place, that now he wished to talk with us. He again acknowledged the gratification of Tuesday, and desired Mr. James to explain to him two notes which he produced, written by the Governor-in-Chief at the request of Amooney, King of Annamaboe, and Adokoo, Chief of the Braffoes, making

over to Saï, King of Ashantee, four ackies per month of their Company's pay, as a pledge of their allegiance and the termination of hostilities. The impression seemed instantly to have rooted itself in the King's mind that this was the Governor's individual act, or that he had instanced it; his countenance changed, his counsellors became enraged; they were all impatience, we all anxiety. "Tell the white men," said the King, "what they did yesterday made me much pleasure; I was glad we were to be friends; but to-day I see they come to put shame upon my face; this breaks my heart too much. The English know, with my own powder, with my own shot, I drove the Fantees under their forts; I spread my sword over them; they were all killed, and their books from the fort are mine. I can do as much for the English as the Fantees; they know this well; they know I have only to send a captain to get all the heads of the Fantees. These white men cheat me; they think to make 'Shantee fool; they pretend to make friends with me, and they join with the Fantees to cheat me, to put shame upon my face; this makes the blood come from my heart." This was reported by his linguist with a passion of gesture and utterance scarcely inferior to the King's; the irritation spread throughout the circle, and swelled even to uproar.

Thus much was inevitable; it was one of our anticipated difficulties; it was not a defeat, but a check; and here originates our charge against Mr. James, whom we declare to have been deficient in presence of mind, and not to have exerted those assurances and arguments which, with a considerate zeal, might at least have tended to ameliorate the unjust impression of the King,

if not to have eradicated it. Mr. James said, "The Governor of Cape Coast had done it; that he knew nothing about it; that he was sent only to make the compliments to the King; that if the King liked to send a messenger with him, *he was going back, and would tell the Governor all that the King said.*" This was all that was advanced. Was this enough for such a mission to effect? The King repeated, "That he had expected we had *come* to settle all palavers, and to *stay* and make friends with him; but we came to make a fool of him." The King asked him to tell him how much had been paid on these notes since his demand —that he knew white men had large books which told this. Mr. James said he had seen, but he could not recollect. Nothing could exceed the King's indignation. "White men," he exclaimed, "know how many months pass, how many years they live, and they know this, but they won't tell me; could not the other white men tell me?" Mr. James said, "We never looked in the books."

We were not so indiscreet as to expect or wish Mr. James to commit himself by *promising the satisfaction* of the King's wishes; but dwelling on the expense and importance of the mission, on the expectations it had excited, and feeling the reason of the King's argument that its object should be to settle all palavers if we wished to be good friends, we conceived we but anticipated the feeling of the Council and of the Committee, in our anxiety for Mr. James to offer to communicate with the Governor by letter, and to wait his reply, with a confidence that his good feeling towards the King, his instructions from England, and his own disposition,

would lead him to do everything that was right to please him.

Mr. James's embarrassment had not only hurried him to extricate himself as an individual at the expense of his own dignity and intellect, but, which was worse, he had thrown the whole onus of this invidious transaction on the shoulders of the Governor-in-Chief, against whom the King's prejudice would be fatal to all, and whose interest in his honour was most flattering to the King, most auspicious to us, and the hopes of the mission; not only the future prosperity, but the present security of the Settlements hung upon this, and the dagger was at this moment suspended from a cobweb. Mr. Bowdich urged this in the ear of Mr. James, urged the danger of leaving the King thus provoked, the fatal sacrifice of every object of the mission, the discredit of the service, the disgrace of ourselves. Mr. James replied, "He knew the Governor's private sentiments best." The Moors of authority seized the moment, and zealously fanned the flame which encircled us; for the King, looking in vain for those testimonies of British feeling which presence of mind would have imposed, exclaimed, as he turned his ear from the Moors, "I know the English come to spy the country; they come to cheat me; they want war, they want war." Mr. James said, "No! we want trade." The King impatiently continued, "They join the Fantees to put shame upon my face; I will send a captain to-morrow to take these books, and bring me the heads of all the Fantees under the forts. The white men know I can do this; I have only to speak to my captains. The Dutch Governor does not cheat me; he does not shame me

before the Fantees; he sends me the whole four ounces a month. The Danes do not shame me, and the English four ackies a month is nothing to me; I can send a captain for all; they wish war." He drew his beard into his mouth, bit it, and, rushing abruptly from his seat, exclaimed, "Shantee foo! Shantee foo! ah! ah!" then shaking his finger at us with the most angry aspect, would have burst from us with the exclamation, "If a black man had brought me this message, I would have had his head cut off before me." Mr. James was silent.

Gentlemen! imagine this awful moment; think what a fatal wound menaced the British interests; the most memorable exertion of the Committee, the pledge to the Government of their energies, of the zeal and capabilities of their officers; this important and expensive mission falling to the ground; the sacrifice to supineness; the Settlements endangered instead of benefited; ourselves disgraced as officers and men, our key to the interior shivered in the lock, and the territories of a great and comparatively tractable prince shut against us for ever. Could we be expected to look with indifference on these sacrifices, to risk nothing to avert them; to be auxiliary to the triumph of the intrigues and duplicity of our rival, which you know to have been exerted even to our destruction? Not a moment was to be lost: Mr. Bowdich stood before the King, and begged to be heard; his attention was arrested, the clamours of the council gradually abated: there was no interpreter but the one Mr. James brought from his own fort, and no alternative but to charge him promptly in the Governor's name, before reflection could associate

the wishes of his master, to speak truly. Mr. Bowdich continued standing before the King, and declared, "That the Governor wished to gain his friendship more than he could think; that we were sent, not only to compliment him, but to write what he had to say to the Governor, and to wait to tell his answer to the King, and to do all he ordered; to settle all palavers, and to make Ashantees and English as one before we went back. That the Governor of Accra was sick and in pain, and naturally wished to go back soon, but that himself and the other two officers would stay with the King, until they made him sure that the Governor was a good friend to him. That we would rather get anger, and lose everything ourselves, than let the King think the Governor sent us to put shame on him; that we would trust our lives to the King, until we had received the Governor's letter, to make him think so; and to tell us to do all that was right, to make the Ashantees and English as one; and this would show the King we did not come to spy the country, but to do good." Mr. Bowdich then assured Mr. James that no outrage on his dignity was meditated; that we should continue to treat him as our superior officer, but that we felt the present act imperative, as our duty to the service and our country.

Conviction flashed across the countenance of the interpreter, and he must have done Mr. Bowdich's speech justice, for the cheerful aspect of the morning was resumed in every countenance. The applause was general; the King (who had again seated himself) held out his hand to Mr. Bowdich, and said, "He spoke well; what he spoke was good; he liked his palaver

much." The King's chief linguist came forward and repeated his commendations with the most profound bows; every look was favourable; everywhere there was a hand extended. The King then instructed his linguist to report to Mr. Bowdich, personally, his arguments respecting the books. "That he had subdued the Fantees at the expense of much powder and shot; and that, in consequence, all their notes were his: that he had only to send a captain to bring all their heads, that he did not want to do no good, and keep the books; he would do more for the forts than the Fantees could; that the Dutch Governor did not cheat him, but gave the four ounces a month. That he wished to be friends with the English; but that the four ackies a month put shame upon his face." To this Mr. Bowdich replied, that he could only say he knew the Governor would do what was right; that he could not say more until he heard from him; but that he would write every word the King said; and he was sure the King would see that the Governor would do what was right. We shook hands and retired.

All the Fantees being detained by the King, Mr. Bowdich and Mr. Hutchison went in the evening to the chief captain to request a messenger from the King to Cape Coast. About two hours afterwards he reported the King's reply almost literally as follows:—"The King wishes you good-night; this is his palaver and yours; you must not speak it to any one else. The white men come to cheat him. The King recollects the face of the white man who spoke to him to-day; he likes him much; he wishes he would talk the palaver. The King likes the other white men who stood up with

him very much; he thinks the Governor of Accra wishes to put all the wrong on the Governor at Cape Coast, and not to tell anything. The King thinks that not right, and he sees you do not like that. You must not speak this palaver again; 'tis the King's palaver, and yours; the King's captain will speak right to the King what you say, and you shall have a messenger."

We again affirm positively that Mr. James made no offer to communicate with the Governor, but spoke only of his return, which we know he was meditating at the expense of the treaty, and every object of the mission.

Referring to our detail previous to the serious business of to-day, you will find every circumstance to have been encouraging, and in our opinion auspicious to the consummation of the mission. Yet at that moment, unclouded as it was, we know Mr. James, by his own confession, to have written to head-quarters with a gloom which existed only in his own imagination; this letter did not go from the detention of the Fantee bearers. We believe firmly that, had there been no interference on our part at the critical moment, Mr. James would have returned forthwith to Cape Coast without effecting one object of the mission, and that the future good of the Settlements would not only have been sacrificed, but their present security endangered.[1]

[1] "The government of the country is a military despotism; and I have this day received private information that it is already settled that if the refusal of the notes occasions a war, and any one is hurt or killed by the forts, our lives will be the forfeit." —Mr. James's despatch.

Mr. James may write that Mr. Bowdich rose with great warmth: this we deny, and affirm that he displayed no more than a temperate zeal, considerate in its declarations, and respectful even in its dissent from Mr. James. The attention of the King was arrested by the novelty of a white man addressing him in the oratorical manner of his own country; but it was not until the linguist had conveyed the arguments, that the King held out his hand, and the applause was general. Mere observations whispered in the ear of the linguists had lost all effect, and would not have answered the crisis.

Mr. James has talked, and perhaps written, much of the King's suspicion; but we must contend that much of this is misnamed, and is no more than that deliberate policy which is a pledge of the durability of the confidence it precedes. Certainly there has been suspicion, but not more than must have been expected, not more than was commensurate with the important novelty which challenged it. It has been confessed here that our political rival has exerted all his address to vitiate our objects in the eyes of the King; to convince him our ostensible views were pretences, our real ones dangerous and unjust; that we sought sovereignty, not commerce. The Moorish chiefs and dignitaries by whom the King is surrounded, whose influence is powerful, not only from their rank but their repute, naturally urged these arguments against unbelievers and competitors in trade, and their extensive intercourse has unfortunately possessed them of facts to the point of our ambition. Let these considerations be weighed; let our account of the

King's general deportment be again referred to; let us impress that he has never once adverted to our destruction of his troops before Annamaboe, or of the critical situation of the fort; that he has evinced a disposition to a sound understanding, by veiling every irritating retrospect, by acknowledging every conciliatory circumstance.

We do not presume to enter our opinions into the important question of the King's demand of the whole of these two notes; we have advanced nothing but our assurance that the Governor will do what is right, and we have pledged our lives to convince the King of this; the importance of the mission would have claimed a more valuable pledge.

Whilst we impress the surprising power and influence of the King, we must do him the justice to acknowledge the convincing manner in which he urged the injuries and forbearance which preceded the Fantee war; his willingness to do everything for the forts, and the conduct of the Dutch Governor in giving him the whole of the four ounces, were impressively and ingeniously associated.

To wear away suspicion, Mr. Bowdich has ceased his inquiries and observations for a time. The resources for intelligence of the interior are infinite. Timbuctoo has been visited by most of the sojourners, and a mass of valuable information may be gathered with caution.[2]

[2] "In the present suspicious state of the King's mind respecting us, I fear it would be impolitic to make the inquiries you ordered in your instructions. I think it will be more prudent to leave them to time. Mr. H., if he remains, will be able, from time to time, to obtain such information as they can give, without creating that

The eclipses of Jupiter's satellites will be regularly observed by Mr. Bowdich, and the mean longitude reported; the want of a good watch imposes considerable trouble.

We have reflected on what we have done, and if we are so unfortunate as to be visited by your and the Committee's displeasure, we shall console ourselves in our reluctant change of pursuit, by the satisfaction of our own minds of the honourable zeal of our motives.

We most respectfully solicit our recall, as we cannot implicate our character and our responsibility with Mr. James's judgment and perseverance in prosecuting the mission, of the consummation of which we cannot agree to despond. We could not reconcile ourselves to the sacrifice of one of its important objects to our personal apprehensions (supported as we are by authority and circumstances) whilst the recollection of the illustrious energies of an enterprising traveller, forlorn and destitute, appeals to our spirit, and impresses the expectations of our country.—We are, &c.

(Signed) T. Edward Bowdich.
W. Hutchison.
Henry Tedlie.

Coomassie, *May* 24, 1817.

To the Governor and Council, Cape Coast Castle.

Gentlemen,—The act our former letter has avowed, and we would presume (after the most deliberate

suspicion which would certainly arise from any questions put at the present moment. I have kept Mr. H.'s hammock men, as it is yet uncertain whether he will remain."—Mr. James's despatch.

reflection) to add justified, has made it our duty to communicate (independently of Mr. James) the circumstances of the interval we may await your pleasure.

If this duty had not been imposed on us by the act in question, the imminent fatality engendered in the debate of to-day, and quickened by the ardour of the captains, would have demanded from our private as well as our public feelings the most energetic representations (as auxiliary to those of Mr. James) in impressing the calamities and the sacrifices which menace the Settlements and the mission, to secure your serious deliberation, as the only preventive we can look to with confidence.

Yesterday we were conducted some way without the town to an assembly of the Moorish caboceers and dignitaries, who exert every device against us. A chapter was read from the Koran, and we were ordered to swear by that book that we had no rogues' palaver, and that we had put no poison in the King's liquor. We severally refused to swear on the Koran, but offered to do so on our own prayer-books. The King's linguist mediated, and asked us if we would only strike that book three times, and then declare as much, because the Moors said that book would kill us if we lied. We did this, and were about two hours afterwards ordered to sit without our house and receive the following present from the King :—

1 bullock, 2 pigs, 8 ozs. of gold, for Mr. James.

1 sheep, 2 ozs. 4 ackies of gold, for each of us.

To each of the numerous Fantee messengers, 10 ackies of gold.

To our cooks, a large assortment of pots and country

vessels, 100 large billets of wood, 100 yams, 100 bunches of plantains, 4 of sugar-cane, 4 (24-gallon) pots of palm oil, 3 jars of palm wine.

To the soldiers, 10 ackies of gold.

To the Accra linguist, 10 ackies of gold.

On Saturday we were summoned to the King, and waited as usual a considerable time in one of the outer courts of the palace, which is an immense building of a variety of oblong courts and regular squares, the former with arcades along the one side, some of round arches symmetrically turned, having a skeleton of bamboo; the entablatures exuberantly adorned with bold fan and trellis-work of Egyptian character. They have a suite of rooms over them, with small windows of wooden lattice of intricate but regular carved work, and some have frames cased with thin gold. The squares have a large apartment on each side, open in front, with two supporting pillars, which break the view and give it all the appearance of the proscenium or front of the stage of the older Italian theatres. They are lofty and regular, and the cornices of a very bold cane-work in *alto relievo*. A drop-curtain of curiously-plaited cane is suspended in front, and in each we observed chairs and stools embossed with gold, and beds of silk, with scattered regalia. The most ornamental part of the palace is the residence of the women. We have passed through it once; the fronts of the apartments were closed (except two open doorways) by panels of curious open carving, conveying a striking resemblance at first sight to an early Gothic screen; one was entirely closed and had two curious doors of a low arch, and strengthened or

battened with wood-work, carved in high relief and painted red. Doors chancing to open as we passed, surprised us with a glimpse of large apartments in corners we could not have thought of; the most secret appeared the most adorned. In our daily course through the palace there is always a delay of some minutes before the door of each of the several distinct squares is unlocked; within the inmost square is the council-chamber.

To-day, after the delay of nearly an hour (which seems an indispensable ceremony) in the outer court (where different dignitaries were passing to and fro with their insignia and retinues), we were conducted to a large yard, where the King, encircled by a varied profusion of insignia, even more sumptuous than that we had seen before, sat at the end of two long files of counsellors, caboceers, and captains; they were seated under their umbrellas, composed of scarlet and yellow cloth, silks, shawls, cottons, and every glaring variety, with carved and golden pelicans, panthers, baboons, barrels, crescents, &c., on the top; the shape generally a dome. Distinct and pompous retinues were placed around, with gold canes, spangled elephant tails to brush off the flies, gold-headed swords, and embossed muskets, and many splendid novelties too numerous but for a particular report, which will not be neglected. Each had the dignitaries of his own province or establishment to his right and left; and it was truly "Concilium in Concilio." When we recollected the insignificant, though neat, appearance of the few Ashantee towns we had passed through on the southern frontier, and even the extent and superior

character of the capital, this magnificence seemed the effect of enchantment.

We have intruded this sketch to impress the power and resources of the monarch we are to conciliate, and to anticipate in some degree the delay of Mr. Bowdich's report, the transcription of which must yield to the present momentous communication.

The King having decided a cause then in course, by which one of his captains was condemned to death for cowardice, ordered the question of the Annamaboe and Braffoe notes to be resumed. The several Fantee messengers were heard, the King of Annamaboe's, Amooney's and Payntree's (the interior caboceer) having joined us in the path. They appeared all equivocation and embarrassment, as Quashie's interpretations confirmed; they were incompetent to answer the King's linguists, and unable to use the few uninterrupted intervals which were allowed them to any purpose. It seems they would not acknowledge what the full amount of these notes was. Mr. James was asked; he said, "White men's heads were not like black men's, and he could not recollect; but he thought four ozs. and two ozs." He did not offer to learn from the Governor. Several impassioned harangues were made by the King's linguists and counsellors; the King said, "He had four ozs. from Elmina, and two ozs. from English Accra; was it not putting shame upon him to send him four ackies from Cape Coast?" The Cape Coast messenger (Quashie Tom had absented himself) spoke again with great trepidation; the King could not conceal his emotions; his counsellors became clamorous; in an instant there was a flourish of all the horns; all

the captains rose and seized their gold-headed swords from their attendants; the head general snatched Mr. Tedlie's from his scabbard; numerous canopies crowded one upon the other in the background, as if some considerable personages had arrived; there was nothing but commotion, wrath, and impatience. The captains, old and young, rushed before the King, and exclaimed, as Quashie reported (who seems to have been afraid to tell us all, and was restrained by Quamina), "King, this shames you too much; you must let us go to-night and kill all the Fantees, and burn all the towns under the forts." They then presented themselves successively with their bands of music and retinues, and, bowing before the King, received his foot upon their heads; each then directed his sword to the King (who held up the two first fingers of his right hand), and swore by the King's head that they would go with the army that night, and bring him the books and the heads of all the Fantees. Each captain made the oath impressive in his own peculiar manner; some seriously, some by ridicule at our expense and that of the Fantees, pointing at our heads and ears, and endeavouring to intimidate us by the most insolent action and gesture as they held out their swords. The old general (Apokoo) who swore the last, after he had done so in the most expressive manner, threw Mr. Tedlie's sword to him over the heads of the people with contemptuous defiance. The number was so great that we thought this awful ceremony would never finish.

The King left the council a short time. In the interval, Quamina Bwa (our guide) told Accra Quashie to beg Mr. James to speak to the King when he came

back, and try and appease him. Mr. James did so, but without the zeal, presence of mind, or argument the crisis demanded; it was not adequate even to ameliorate the King's impression of the Governor and the English; it was no more than he said at first. The King took not the least notice of it, but declared angrily that "if he did not see white men's faces he would cut off the heads of every Fantee messenger on the spot." Some sheep and gold were then brought forward and presented to the captains, and the King rose abruptly from his chair. In this anxious moment we reflected that the mulatto of General Daendels had a long audience of the King just before we were received; no resource was to be left untried that was manly and appropriate. Mr. Bowdich stepped before the King and declared, through the linguist, "that he wished to speak what he knew would make the King think that the Governor would do him right, and was his good friend." The King said he would hear him speak in the house; we retired amidst the insults and menaces of the assembly.

About two hours after, we were summoned, and, as is the etiquette, kept some time in waiting; in this interval, Mr. James said that our situation being very critical, it was a pity any difference should be observed, and that he thought it much better to be reconciled. Mr. Bowdich replied that he could not think it possible our sentiments to be delivered to the King could differ at such a moment; that if they did we should assimilate ours to his as much as possible; but, feeling the necessity for the greatest energy, for every address and argument for the conviction of the King, we must, for

the public good, continue our assumption of the privilege of strengthening his declarations by our own until our recall; that we should be tender of his dignity; but that, it being a difference on a point of public duty, we could not compound it, but would take the consequences. We were received; the King's aspect was stern; he prefaced that "he did not wish to make war with the English, but that the four ackies a month shamed him too much; that the captains said to him, 'King, they cheat you, they put shame on you; we will go to-night and bring you the heads of all the Fantees;' that he was forced to say to them, 'I beg your pardon, but, as I see the white men's faces, I beg you to stay till to-morrow, when they can write to the Governor, and they will tell me themselves what he says; then, if he does not send me Amooney's and the Braffoe's books, you shall go and kill all; that he had been obliged afterwards to dash them sheep and gold to make them stay until the white men got the Governor's letter." Mr. James assured the King "that the King of England and the Governor wished to be friends with him, to do all that was right; and he thought in his own mind that the Governor would give up the books." The King took no notice, and continued serious: the moment called for the most energetic appeal to his reason, for every imposing argument and circumstance. There was a long pause; Mr. Bowdich rose, and charged Mr. James's linguist to interpret truly. We took the precaution of making notes of this speech, feeling we should be particular where we pledge our honour and volunteer our affidavit. It was as follows:—

"We swore yesterday as the King wished; to-day we

wish to swear as we should before our own King." The King held up the two first fingers of his right hand as he did to the captains. "We swear" (presenting our swords and kissing the hilt, as the most imposing form that occurred to us) "by our God and by our King, and we know the Governor of Accra will do the same, that we mean no bad to the King; that the King of England and the Company ordered the Governor to send us to make the Ashantees and English as one; that we are sure the Governor will do the King right; and that when we write him all the King says, we will write also that we think the King's palaver good. We were sent to make the English and Ashantees as one, because ours is the greatest white, yours the greatest black, nation; and when two great nations are friends, it makes good. I came out in the ship that was sent to tell the Governor this, and when he heard it he said it gave him very much pleasure. The King of England and the Company thought the Governor should send to the King, to send some of his great men to Cape Coast, that we might be safe; but the Governor said, 'No! there was no occasion,' and wrote to the King and the Company that he could trust all his officers in Ashantee, because the King's honour made them safe; so we came without sending, because we knew the King was our true friend.

"The Governor wished always to do the King right, but the Fantees never would tell him what was right, so he wrote to the King of England to send him some presents, that he might send his own officers to the King, and hear properly from the King's own mouth what was right, because the Fantees never would tell

him what was true, or what the King said. When the Governor reads what we shall write him, then he will know the truth for the first time. We shall stay to make the Ashantees and English one, and we pledge our lives to the King, that we speak a proper palaver, and when we speak true before God and the King we cannot fear."

There were repeated and general applauses as each sentence was interpreted; the King smiled, and desired his linguist to say to Mr. Bowdich as Quashie interpreted, "The King likes you; you speak a proper good palaver; you speak like a man; the King wishes to be a friend to white men; he thinks white men next to God." Here the King raised his hands to heaven, and then, covering his face, Quashie continued to interpret:—"The King thanks God and his own fetish, that they have sent him white men to talk proper like this to him, and when you three white men go back to Cape Coast, and the Governor has bad put into his head, and thinks you did wrong, then if you want anything to eat, send a messenger to him and he will send you plenty, for the King thinks you do right to God and him, and to your King and to the Governor, and that you will get much honour when you go back; so the King thanks you, and says you speak well." The King then asked Mr. James if he would swear on his sword like us, as we said; Mr. James did so. The King made an observation which it seems we cannot convey to you in its full force, or nearer than that he liked the three white men because they always stood up to speak, and pushed forward to get what they wanted. Many auxiliary observations were afterwards

offered casually by each of us, to confirm his change of sentiment. The Fantee linguists attempted to intimidate the linguist Quashie of Accra, but ineffectually; this man is invaluable from his influence and intelligence; he is our only safe medium, and interprets to the King anxiously and impressively.

The King appeared much pleased, and made us a long speech. "The King says the Fantees are all rogues; the Governor knows that very well. The King thinks they always put bad palaver in the Governor's head; he always tells his captains so; he is sure you come to do him right. The King wishes all good for the English; he swears by God and by the fetish, that if the English could know how the Fantees serve him, and all the bad they do, they would say his palaver was good. The King speaks true." He then gave us an outline of the Fantee war, which must have convinced even the most prejudiced of his injuries and forbearance, and their injustice and cruelty.

The King says, "If the English trust to him, he will take more care of the forts than the Fantees can; he will do them great good; he does not want to do nothing. He will send the English his trade; he will send them good gold like what he wears himself (showing his armlets), not bad gold like he knows the Fantees make; his people don't know how to do that; the Fantees do it in their own houses before they give it to white men. If at any time the English in the forts are in want of anything to eat, and send to him, he will send them everything. To-morrow is Sunday, but the next day is Monday; then he will give you a proper messenger."

We cannot do justice to the King's sentiments either in detail or in expression; they were incredibly liberal, and would have ennobled the most civilized monarch; they seemed to break the spell which has shut the interior. He begged us to drink with him, and Mr. James agreed in the toast of "May the Ashantees and English always be one;" it pleased him, and he begged us to touch his glass with ours. He then turned suddenly to the Fantee messengers (who were trembling in the rear) and said, "You made me very angry with you, and I am very angry with you; but never mind, come and drink some of my liquor."

Our critical situation demands the delivery of our sentiments on the subject of these notes; we do so with diffidence and respect. The services of the Braffoes, who hold the one, are merely nominal, their enmity nugatory from their political situation; the issuing of a fresh note to Amooney will be but a small addition to the expenditure, and even the expense of renewing them both cannot be weighed with the prevention of another Fantee war, of the destruction of a whole people, and the ruin of our Settlements in their defence, with the defeat of the intrigue and devices of our rival, and the acquisition of the confidence of a powerful and liberal monarch, whose influence may perfect the views of the British Government on the interior. We hail the circumstances as auspicious, even in the present serious moment.

Mr. James confesses that he desponds of consummating the objects of the mission; we do not. We would be responsible for all of them, but we diffidently

await your decision. We must claim this momentary calm of the King to ourselves, because it only affords us the credit, or rather the justification, of having done our duty, which we are resolute in repeating Mr. James has not. What has been said through Mr. Bowdich is here reported faithfully; we have not committed the Governor or ourselves.

Gentlemen, our situation is critical; if your answer determines the King on war, we are his prisoners; if, as we cannot doubt, the valour of our countrymen again retards his progress by defences as memorable as that of Annamaboe, we may be the victims of an irritated soldiery, though we feel it would be with the reluctance of a generous prince, who is not independent, but, unfortunately, controlled by a military despotism, which deposed his brother and invested him.

But, gentlemen, if in your better knowledge and reflection you cannot consistently with your honour and your trust meet the King's demand, the history of our country has fortified our minds with the illustrious example of a Vansittart and his colleagues, who were situated as we are, when the dawn of British intercourse in India was scarcely more advanced than its dawn in Africa now; and their last request to their Council is our present conclusion to you—"Do not put our lives in competition with the honour and interests of our country."

We are, &c. &c.

(Signed) T. Edward Bowdich.
W. Hutchison.
Henry Tedlie.

Coomassie, *May 28th*, 1817.

To the Governor and Council.

Gentlemen,—On Sunday the King visited us at our quarters, and expressed much gratification with the trifles we presented him individually, and our solicitude in explaining some plates of botanical and natural history, which he sends for frequently.

On Monday we had a public audience before the captains (whose ill-will has been acknowledged), when two messengers were ordered to accompany one of ours to Cape Coast, with the letters to the Governor, and were impressively sworn; they received their instructions in a speech from the linguist of nearly two hours; it seemed to be intended to conciliate the captains at the same time.

In the afternoon the King sent for us again, and said he wished to dictate a letter to the Governor. Mr. James wrote the sense of the King's expressions, but was obliged to leave off from indisposition. The King would not trust it out of his hands. Yesterday evening it was concluded, when the King proposed to make his mark, and insisted on repeating it in the direction. We have taken the pains to preserve this curious letter verbatim, which from its length and our constant interruption we are compelled to reserve, with many curious particulars, for the General Report.

We are anxiously waiting a summons to hand our despatches to the messenger. Nine days are allowed for the journey to Cape Coast, and nine for the return. The whole time has been gradually extended, by

entreaty of the Fantee messengers, from eighteen to thirty days.

Mr. Hutchison is ill with a bilious attack, and several of the people with a fever and dysentery. The heat is very powerful here, but Mr. Bowdich and Mr. Tedlie continue in excellent health.

We would recommend the sending up a common green silk umbrella, and a Company's dirk, as presents to the King's favourite nephew.

Our confinement to the house is rather irksome; we are not allowed to walk in the town without captains accompanying us.

12 o'clock. The King sent to say Mr. Bowdich must come to the palace, and mount the chief captain's horse, and show him how Englishmen ride. Mr. Bowdich went, and by the King's desire galloped up and down the opposite hill. The King expressed great anxiety when the horse was made to play his tricks; and when Mr. Bowdich persevered, and made him gallop back and alighted, the King sent him word that "he rode like a proper man, that he stayed on the horse well, and made him do proper."

4 o'clock. The King sent for us at two, to make some additions to the letter, and to seal it in his presence. A long prayer was uttered by a Moor after the sealing of the letter, and we were called back to be again impressed with the example and justice of the Dutch as regards the books. Mr. Hutchison's illness prevented his attendance to-day. The messengers are to go to-night.

May 29th, 3 p.m. The messengers and the Fantee bearers, have been delayed in consequence of the death

of a person of rank, and their assistance in the custom. I am now assured that they will leave Coomassie at 4 o'clock.

In reply to the request we urged to Mr. James, that he would dismiss our hammock-men as they had been of so little service to us in coming up, and were a considerable expense, he impressed that it would be contrary to your instructions.

Only one message from the King to-day, and that a private one to Mr. Bowdich, with permission for him to ride: he went all round the town, which he considers to be about three miles in circumference; the King afterwards sent him word that to-morrow he must ride on a cloth only, as he had heard the English did.

We are, &c. &c.

(Signed) T. E. Bowdich.
H. Tedlie.

P.S. Mr. James had a severe relapse of fever last night, and was very ill this morning; at 10 o'clock a.m. he had the cold bath, and some febrifuge medicine. Mr. Hutchison is rather better, the soldiers also, but the hammock-men continue much the same.

Saï Tootoo Quamina, *King of Ashantee and its Dependencies, to* John Hope Smith, *Esquire, Governor-in-Chief of the British Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa.*

The King sends his compliments to the Governor; he thanks the King of England and him very much for the presents sent to him, he thinks them very hand-

some. The King's sisters and all his friends have seen them, and think them very handsome, and thank him. The King thanks his God and his fetish that he made the Governor send the white men's faces for him to see, like he does now; he likes the English very much, and the Governor all the same as his brother.

The King of England has made war against all the other white people a long time, and killed all the people all about, and taken all the towns, French, Dutch, and Danish, all the towns all about. The King of Ashantee has made war against all the people of the water side, and all the black men all about, and taken all their towns.

When the King of England takes a French town, he says, "Come, all this is mine, bring all your books, and give me all your pay;" and if they don't do it, does the Governor think the King of England likes it?[3] So the King has beat the Fantees now two times, and taken all their towns, and they send and say to him, "You are a great King, we want to serve you;" but he says, "Hah! you want to serve me, then bring all your books, what you get from the forts;" and then they send him four ackies; this vexes him too much.

The first time he made war against the Fantees, two great men in Assin quarrelled; so half the people came to Ashantee, half went to Fantee. The King said, "What is the reason of this?" so he sent his gold swords and canes to know why they did so, and the Fantees

[3] This is an extraordinary impression, that all the towns in Europe are supported like those under the forts, holding notes from their Governments for annual stipends.

killed his messengers and took all their gold.[4] After they fought with the Elminas and Accras, the Fantees sent word to the King they would serve him; the King sent word to the Assins, "If it is true that the Fantees want to serve me, let me hear." After that they sent to say, "Yes; they tired of fighting, and wanted to serve him;" he said, "Well, give me some gold, what you get from the books, and then you shall hear what palaver I have got in my head, and we can be friends;" then he sent some messengers, and after they waited more than two years, the Fantees sent word back, "No! we don't want to serve the King, but only to make the path open and get good trade:" this vexed the King too much.

Then the Fantees sent to a strong man, Cudjoe Coomah, and said, "Come, let us put our heads together against the King;" after that, when the King heard this, he sent one, not a great man, but his own slave, and said, "Well you will do, go kill all the people, all the Aquapims, and Akims, and all;" and so he killed all, and after he killed all he came and told him.

When he sent against Akim, the people in Akim sent word that they told their head men not to vex the King, but they would not mind them, so he killed the head people, and the others begged his pardon.

[4] Here the King's linguist ceased, and by his desire requested us to repeat all the King had said; he was much pleased with our accuracy, and begged us to take some refreshment (spirits and palm wine were introduced in silver bowls), fearing he had kept us too long without eating, and would continue the letter to-morrow. He locked up what had been written, and heard it read again the next day, before his linguists continued.

When the King went to fight with the Fantees they sent this saucy word, "We will kill you and your people, and stand on you;" then they did not kill one Ashantee captain, but the King killed all the Fantee captains and people. They do not stand on him.

That time, after the King fought, all the Fantees sent word, "Well we will serve you, but you must not send more harm to hurt us, we don't want to fight more, but to make good friends with you." Then the King said, "What caboceer lives at Cape Coast and Annamaboe, what books they get from the forts, let them send all, and then we can be friends." And the King sent word too, "If my messengers go to Cape Coast fort, and if they bring pots of gold, and casks of goods, then I can't take that, *but I must have the books.*"

After that the King sent word to the Governor of Cape Coast and the Governor of Annamaboe, "Well! you know I have killed all the Fantees, and I must have Adocoo's and Amooney's books, and I can make friends with you, good brother and good heart;" but now they send four ackies, that is what makes the King's heart break out when he looks on the book and thinks of four ackies, and his captains swear that the Fantees are rogues and want to cheat him. When the white men see the Fantees do this, and the English officers bring him this four ackies, it makes him get up very angry, but he has no palaver with white men.

All Fantee is his, all the black man's country is his; he hears that white men bring all the things that come here; he wonders they do not fight with the Fantees,

for he knows they cheat them. Now he sees white men, and he thanks God and his fetish for it.

When the English made Apollonia fort he fought with the Aowins, the masters of that country, and killed them; then he said to the caboceer, "I have killed all your people, your book is mine;" the caboceer said, "True! so long as you take my town, the book belongs to you."

He went to Dankara and fought, and killed the people; then he said, "Give me the book you get from Elmina," so they did, and now Elmina belongs to him.[5]

The English fort at Accra gave a book to an Akim caboceer, called Aboigin Adjumawcon. The King killed him and took the book. The Dutch fort gave a book to another Akim caboceer, Curry Curry Apam. The Danish fort gave a book to another Akim caboceer, Arrawa Akim; the King killed all and took their books.

This King, Saï, is young on the stool, but he keeps always in his head what old men say, for it is good, and his great men and linguists tell it him every morning. The King of England makes three great men, and sends one to Cape Coast, one to Annamaboe, and one to Accra; Cape Coast is the same as England. The King gets two ounces from Accra every moon, and the English wish to give him only four ackies for the big fort at Cape Coast, and the same for Annamaboe; do white men think this proper?

When the King killed the Dankara caboceer and got two ounces from Elmina, the Dutch Governor said,

[5] The King always spoke of the acts of all his ancestors as his own.

" This is a proper King, we shall not play with him," and made the book four ounces. The King has killed all the people, and all the forts are his; he sent his captains to see white men; now *he* sees them, and thanks God and his fetish. If the path was good when the captains went, the King would have gone under the forts and seen all the white men. The Ashantees take good gold to Cape Coast, but the Fantees mix it; he sent some of his captains like slaves to see, and they saw it; ten handkerchiefs are cut to eight, water is put to rum, and charcoal to powder, even for the King; they cheat him, but he thinks the white men give all those things proper to the Fantees.

The King knows the King of England is his good friend, for he has sent him handsome dashes; he knows his officers are his good friends, for they come to see him. The King wishes the Governor to send to Elmina to see what is paid him there, and to write the King of England how much, as the English say their nation passes the Dutch; he will see by the books given him by both forts. If the King of England does not like that, he may send him himself what he pleases, and then Saï can take it.

He thanks the King and Governor for sending four white men to see him. The old King wished to see some of them, but the Fantees stop it. He is but a young man and sees them, and so again he thanks God and his fetish.

Dictated in the presence of,

T. Edward Bowdich.
William Hutchison.
Henry Tedlie.

May 30*th*. Apokoo sent us a present of thirty ackies of gold and some fruits.

June 1*st*. The King sent to desire Mr. Tedlie to bring his instruments and medicines, and explain their uses to him; he was shrewdly inquisitive, and presented Mr. Tedlie with six ackies of gold in approbation of his intelligence.

4*th*. The King paid us a visit at our quarters, and expressed himself highly gratified with some botanical engravings: he said white men tried to know so much they would spoil their heads by-and-by. We were allowed to take a walk in the town to-day, in charge of two captains. We had scarcely passed the palace when two men were decapitated for cowardice: three others had been executed during the night.

5*th*. Bakkee, to whom our house formerly belonged, had been sent the second in command of the army with which Appia Danqua invaded Fantee the second time, in pursuit of the Akim and Aquapim revolters. Wearied of the procrastination and labours of the campaign, he inconsiderately observed to a public messenger, that, as the King had declared when he invaded Fantee in person that he would have the head of every Fantee caboceer, and yet returned with a part only, so he could not be expected to forego the enjoyment of the riches and luxuries of his home until every revolter was killed. On his return to the capital without leave, he was charged with this, and not denying it, was stripped of all his property, and hung himself. Aboidwee, our present house-master, was raised to Bakkee's stool, or seat in council, to which 1700 retainers are attached.

9*th*. The King sent us two sheep and a large quantity of fruit; his nephew also sent us a sheep.

11*th*. We were invited to attend the King's levee, on the Adaï custom, and were presented with a flask of rum and a fat sheep. This walk was a great relief, for the longest court in our quarters was not more than fourteen feet.

12*th*. The King sent us a large Hio sheep to look at; it measured four and a half feet from the head to the insertion of the tail, which was two feet long; its height was three feet, and it was covered with coarse shaggy hair.

13*th*. The King sent for us late at night; he assured us he wished to think well of the English; and that if Cape Coast was not so far off, he should send messengers daily to wish the Governor good morning, but the Crambos (Moors) and his great men thought we came to do bad, and spy the country; so he sent for us when it was dark, that they might not know it. He had only two persons with him. Mr. James was too ill to attend.

17*th*. The King sent a present to our quarters of

2 ounces of gold to the officers.
20 ackies to our people.
10 ackies to our linguists.
1 hog, 1 sheep, and a profusion of plantains and oranges.

This was his reproof of a disgraceful attempt to borrow money of him for our subsistence; of which Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Tedlie, and myself, had publicly disclaimed our knowledge and sanction. Nothing could be more injurious to our dignity.

18*th.* Mr. Tedlie having ventured to walk a few yards without the town, was arrested by a captain with about 100 followers, who detained him in his house whilst a message was sent to the King, who, desiring Mr. Tedlie to be brought before him, inquired if he had his small box (compass) in his pocket, and finding he had not, affected to reprove the captain severely for supposing either of us could wish to run away, whilst the King was our friend. After this we seldom went out.

21*st.* Bundahenna, one of the King's uncles, begged him for permission to go and make custom for some relatives whom he had lost in the last Fantee war, as he feared their spirits were beginning to trouble him. The King subscribed four ounces of gold, two ankers of rum, one barrel of powder, and four human victims for sacrifice, towards this custom. We received a present of eleven ackies of gold from Quatchie Quofie's household.

26*th.* We received a present from a captain called Oöossa Cudjo of ten ackies of gold, and another from Jessinting of the same quantity, a sheep and some plantains.

28*th.* The King sent us a large quantity of plantains and oranges. Apokoo, one of the four greatest men in the kingdom, hearing his mother's sister was dead, killed a slave before his house, and proceeded to her croom to sacrifice many more, and celebrate her funeral custom; but when he found on opening her boxes, that the old woman from her dislike of him had thrown almost all her rock gold into the river, and that he should only inherit a number of hungry slaves,

he sacrificed but one more victim, and made but a very mean custom.

29*th*. Attended the King's levee, and were presented with a flask of rum and a fat sheep. The King sent us word that he would be glad to let us walk out, but there were many bad people who would kill us if they could. We were gratified by an invitation to visit Odumata, one of the four aristocrats; he begged us to drink palm wine with him, and ordered a large jar of it to be sent to our servants. He told us he was the first captain who fought with the English at Annamaboe; and that if the books were not sent, he would be the first to do so again; he asked us if we would take him to England to see our King, and engage to bring him back again; for, having sold an immense number of captives as slaves, he expected some of them might recognize him, and call out to the King of England to stop him, because he had sent them out of their own country.

July 2*nd*. A girl was beheaded for insolence to one of the King's sons, and a man for transgressing the law by picking up gold which he had dropped in the public market-place, where all that falls is allowed to accumulate until the soil is washed on state emergencies.

3*rd*. This morning one of the King's sons (about ten years of age) shot himself: his funeral custom was celebrated in the afternoon, and a smart fire of musquetry was kept up until sunset, amidst dancing, singing, and revelry; two men and one girl were sacrificed, and their trunks and heads were left in the market-place till dark. The mother of this child, a

favourite wife of the King's, having added crime to a continued perversity of conduct, had been put to death; the boy was banished the King's presence from that time. This morning he had stolen into the palace for the first time, and the King desiring him to be removed, observing that he had, doubtless, as bad a head towards him as his mother had shown, he replied that if he could not be allowed to come and look at his father he had better die; half an hour afterwards he destroyed himself privately, by directing a blunderbuss into his mouth, and discharging it with his foot. The keeper of the royal cemetery was this day imprisoned. His wife was soon after charged by the council with making fetish to turn the King's head; she replied that it meant no more than to make the King think better of her husband; but they insisted that she invoked the fetish to make the King mad, and she was executed.

5th. A loud shout from our people announced the return of the messengers from Cape Coast Castle, after an absence of thirty-eight days.

CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings and incidents until the third despatch to Cape Coast Castle.

Cape Coast Castle, *June* 21, 1817.

SIR,—Mr. James being ordered to return here as soon as possible, will deliver you his instructions, and you will immediately on receipt of this letter take upon yourself the management of the mission. I have every reliance on your prudence and discretion, and still firmly hope that the termination of the embassy will be attended with success, and that the sanguine expectations which we have entertained as to the result of it will not be disappointed.

The King has received a very erroneous impression of the affair of the Fantee notes, which I regret to hear was the cause of a serious disturbance: I am glad, however, to find that by your prompt mode of conduct, you were in some measure able to repress the unfavourable bias it seems to have occasioned, and I have no doubt that an explanation of the circumstance will effectually remove any remaining prejudice. This transaction was entirely between the Ashantee messengers and Fantees, negotiated and determined on by them at Abrah, and afterwards ratified here by

their mutual consent. Hearing that messengers from the King were at Abrah, I invited them down, wishing through their medium to communicate with him concerning the conveyance of the presents I had received from the Committee. After some delay they arrived, and on their first interview made known their errand to the Fantees, and the manner it had been arranged, applying at the same time for two notes to be made out in favour of Zey, at four ackies each, which were to be deducted from the notes of Amooney and Aduecoe. Not being perfectly satisfied from the representation of these people as to the justness of the claim, I delayed complying until it was stated to be a pledge of good faith and allegiance on the part of the Fantees, and a confirmation of the final adjustment of all differences between the two parties, and as such they were given them. The nature of the claim having been fully and satisfactorily explained, I have no hesitation in complying with the wishes of the King; and this I do the more readily, knowing that by the extension of his authority, good order and subjection will be better preserved.

This will, I hope, evince to the King my friendly intention towards him; and you will impress upon his mind, that it is my earnest desire to cultivate his friendship, the establishment of which will be mutually beneficial; and in order that the union between us may be more closely cemented, I am particularly desirous that Mr. Hutchison be permitted to reside at Ashantee, which will be the means of preventing any interruption to the good understanding which, before you leave, will, I hope, be firmly settled.

I have no objection to you returning by way of Warsaw, but your undertaking the journey on foot, I am apprehensive, you will find too fatiguing. The hammock-men are engaged for the trip, therefore the only additional expense will be their subsistence; I however leave it to you to dismiss them or not.

The Accra linguist being so very useful, and the only man who will interpret faithfully, you will retain him until you return.

I have sent you, by the King's messenger, forty ounces of gold to defray your expenses ; should any loan have been granted by the King, you will of course repay him.

I send you a piece of muslin and ten danes for presents to the Moors, whose friendship it will be highly necessary to conciliate. I have also, at your request, sent a dirk and umbrella, intended for the King's chief captain and his favourite nephew.

Quamina, the Ashantee captain at Abrah, has refused to allow any letters to pass that place which may be given in charge to Ashantee traders, on the plea that by so doing he would incur the displeasure of the King, who, he says, expects that especial messengers will be engaged here to proceed with all letters to the capital. Not long ago a trader who had received a letter was detained by him at Abrah, and the letter returned. The expense of employing messengers here on every occasion would be material, which is quite unnecessary, as opportunities almost daily occur for forwarding letters by the different traders going from hence. I therefore hope your representation of this affair to the King will induce him to countermand

his orders to Quamina, if any such have been given him.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
JOHN HOPE SMITH.

To Thomas Edward Bowdich, Esq.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, *Esquire, Governor-in-Chief of the British Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa, to* SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA, *King of Ashantee.*

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 26th ult., and am happy to find that you are sincerely desirous of cultivating the friendship of the British nation. Both inclination and duty urge me to reciprocate the sentiments expressed by you, and I shall be anxious at all times to promote the harmony and good understanding which, I hope, will now be established between us respectively, and which cannot fail to be mutually advantageous.

I regret to find there has been so much trouble about the Fantee notes, and I am sorry you did not apply to me in the first instance, as the affair should have been settled immediately to your satisfaction; but I knew not of it, except from the Fantees having begged me to take four ackies per month from each note, which they said they had agreed for with your messengers at Abrah.

I observe by the many instances quoted in your letter, that the notes of conquered countries have been

transferred to your ancestors, therefore it shall be the same on the present occasion. Herewith I send you two notes, one for two ounces per month, formerly held by Amooney, also one from the caboceer at Abrah for two ounces, the latter was only twelve ackies per month, and I have added one ounce four to it. These, and the notes you hold from Accra, will make your Company's pay six ounces per month, which shall be regularly paid at the Castle.

I hope my ready compliance with your wishes will convince you of the goodwill of the British nation, but I have every reason to believe that attempts have been made to prejudice you against it; however, your own good understanding will readily suggest to you that the only motive is jealousy in trade.

The conduct of the English you will always find very different; they enter into fair competition with the other European residents here, but they never, by clandestine means or false assertions, endeavour to injure their character with the natives of this country.

I have learned with regret that the people of Elmina are using their influence to induce you to make a palaver with the Commendas. They are a mere handful of people, extremely poor and not worth your notice; besides, they are under my protection, therefore I hope you will not think further of the affair, and I shall consider your compliance in this instance as the greatest possible proof of the sincerity of your intentions towards the English.

I wish you health and happiness, and I hope you will reign many years, enjoying the love of your

subjects, and the respect of all the Europeans resident in this country.

I am, Sir,
Your faithful friend,
(Signed) J. H. Smith.

Cape Coast Castle, 20*th June*, 1817.

P.S. The abolition of the slave trade was an act of the King and the Parliament in England, in which the Government in this country had no concern.

Coomassie, *July* 9, 1817.

To John Hope Smith, Esq., Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—The messengers returned on Saturday the 5th instant.

To be confirmed by your approbation, in the opinion that my zeal for the public good had not exceeded my duty, is a most flattering satisfaction. The appointment you have conferred on me, is an acknowledgment so far transcending my conduct, that it must stimulate every ability to exert itself for the success of the mission, to justify such an honourable distinction.

The box containing the letters was opened in the King's presence, but being engaged in a custom on the death of a son, he deferred the reading of your letter, retaining it with the notes. His acknowledgments of your justice were associated with the declaration, that although you had sent him the notes, still if I could not fortify him with the prices of the various articles to be received in payment, you would have it in your

power (though he did not suspect you) to reduce the intrinsic of the whole to that of the moiety rejected. The proposition of the same prices as those attached to the Accra note, was annihilated by the argument that Accra was a small fort, and not like Cape Coast or *Elmina*. So much stress was laid on the instance of the latter, that I felt called upon to declare, as the only striking conviction, that you did not wish in the payment of these notes to treat the King like a trader, and therefore would not allow the Elmina Governor to act more liberally in prices than yourself: the conviction was entire and instantaneous.

The next audience did not take place until Monday, Mr. James being present. I did justice to the utmost of my ability to your impressive letter; the effect was honourable to you, and encouraging to myself; the King ordered me to take his hand, in his sensibility to the strong appeal of the several paragraphs, and again at the conclusion, as a pledge of his cordial satisfaction of the whole; his linguist followed his example (as did the whole council), when he laid his forefinger on his head and breast, as the invocation to heaven for the vouchsafement of your several good wishes, as I concluded with them. I was reluctantly compelled to yield a minor object to a custom consecrated by their constitution. The laws of the three first kings (who were brothers, and contemporary leaders of the colony, whose conquests established the empire) are sacred; and it was a law of Saï Cudjo, the younger brother, and the grandfather of the present King, which granted to particular captains the honourable patent of receiving the pay of small forts, distinctly, each being respon-

sible for his separate duties to his settlement. If this law were not inviolable, the King pleads that it would be an invidious act, and unjust to the merits of the Captain of English Accra (Asquah Amanquah), to remove the payment of the Accra note to Cape Coast; but as the other appointments originate in him, he will respect your wish by constituting one captain to receive both the Abrah and Annamaboe notes at Cape Coast. He inquired if it was your wish that no Ashantee trader should go to Accra? I replied, No; you were only desirous to induce as many as possible to come to Cape Coast.

The Cape Coast linguists, and our guide, Quamina Bwa, confirmed your report of the conduct of Quamina Bootaqua, the captain now at Payntree, in the negotiation of the notes; it excited the greatest surprise and indignation: his interception of letters was disclaimed, and will be done away with. I submitted to the King on retiring, that in my next audience I should be desirous of declaring the purport of the official instructions transferred to me (which had not been yet avowed) with other credentials, explanatory and impressive of the good wishes and intentions of the Government, the Committee, and yourself. I was favoured with my first separate audience at eight o'clock this morning. I first impressed from the despatches of the Committee, every motive and sentiment that was convicting or imposing; urging your waving the hostages and escort, as the demonstration of your confidence in the King's honour and friendship; and insinuating that the establishment of a school at Cape Coast, was solely in anticipation of the King's committing some of his children to your care

for education, as the foundation of the pre-eminence of Europeans. I then passed to your instructions, rendering them in a manner as persuasive and auspicious as possible; associating in favour of the Residency, the commanding motive of facilitating political interests, with the imposing one of securing justice to the Ashantee traders. Lastly, I introduced the treaty, as a pledge from the King to give force to your application to the Government at home, for the increase of his pay; for, as he continued to dwell on the grant of four ounces from Elmina, I availed myself of this liberty of my instructions, to divert the impression, and to propitiate his ratification of the treaty. I considered the pretence of your being obliged to address the British Government on the subject, as preservative of the opportunity of judging of the sincerity of his professions, and of the duration of the union.

I think I may pledge myself for three great pillars of our commercial intercourse, by the accomplishment of the Residency, the Education, and the Treaty.

I reconcile myself to fresh difficulties by the reflection that they are inseparable from all great political views; and that without them, I should be deprived of the satisfaction of proving myself, in a small degree, worthy this confidence and distinction, by patience and perseverance. A letter accompanies this, written in the King's presence, on the subject of the Commenda palaver, which wears so decided an aspect, that whilst I pledge all my energy and address, and look with hope to the aid of your suggestions, I must candidly confess, I do not think it can be compounded in anything like a reasonable way. I appealed to the King's magna-

nimity, and depicted the poverty of the Commendas, but every appeal and every argument was ineffectual; their aggravated offences admit of no amelioration of the King's feelings. I depreciated the plea of General Daendels' repeated messages, by submitting that they were addressed to the town and not to the fort, and I succeeded in retiring him from the negotiation, as an interference inconsistent with your dignity and the present good understanding.

I did not discourage the King's great anxiety for clothes of the English costume, considering that his example would be more auspicious than anything else to the introduction of these manufactures. I have distributed the muslins, &c., as politically as possible, including with the Moors of repute, the aristocracy or four captains controlling the King, his four linguists, his brother and successor, our house-master, and some other captains of superior influence. I made a point of conciliating a Moor of influence about to return through Sallagha or Sarem (the capital of the Inta country, and the grand emporium of the merchandize of the interior) to Houssa, feeling the policy of communicating every favourable impression to the neighbouring kingdoms; in my second interview I obtained permission from the King to dismiss the remaining Fantees. It was one of the first considerations, for the sake of our dignity, to avoid the humiliating circumstances and impressions which have ensued from the want of foresight, and the consequent inability to meet the demands of our people. Their conduct since has been so mutinous and insulting, with the exception of six, that to preserve the impression of the firmness of

an English officer, I secured one who encouraged the others by persisting in some insulting indecencies, in contempt of my remonstrances, and ordered him to be punished.

The others (with the above exception) having refused in a body, aggravating their disobedience with the grossest insolence, to go with a cane to Payntree, and bring the biscuit which had been deserted there; I have disclaimed them, and left them to act for themselves, only securing them the King's permission to depart.

I shall request the King to furnish me with his own people, on the conclusion of the business of the embassy. Such an arrangement favours economy, and impresses the confidence I affect.

The frequent presents had enabled me to present the Fantees with large supplies of plantains and hogs; and on paying them their arrears, which I did the same evening I received your gold, I gave them a bullock which fell to my share in a division with Mr. James.

You will see by the balance of the annexed account, that (preserving our dignity) every expense should be avoided that can be; and I assure you, that in making the present arrangement for bearers for our baggage only, I do not disregard your solicitude for our health. I shall order one Cape Coast messenger to attend Mr. James, and also the bearers left behind, being sufficiently recovered.

The statistical and scientific desiderata, so impressively recommended to my attention, are daily realizing beyond my expectations. Mr. Tedlie has had a severe

attack of fever and dysentery, but is convalescent; Mr. Hutchison and myself are in perfect health.

I am, with respect, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
T. E. Bowdich.

Saï Tootoo Quamina, *King of Ashantee and its Dependencies, to* John Hope Smith, *Esquire, Governor-in-Chief of the British Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa.*

The Commenda palaver now rests with you and the King of Ashantee only; the Dutch Governor has no more to do with it, so the King recalls the captain sent to him, and sends a proper messenger to treat with you individually.

The conduct and messages of the Commendas have been so irritating and insolent to the King, that nothing but believing you to be his good friend, could induce him to treat at all with them, or do anything but kill them; but for your sake, he will settle the palaver, and you must help him properly.

The King wants to begin the union without any palaver remaining, and as this Commenda palaver is the only one it must be settled, and if you do this, he will take care the Elminas shall not do wrong to the Fantees, but he will help you in all your palavers.

The Elminas are always sending him messages about the insulting conduct and expressions of the Commendas towards him, and this is very vexatious to him, so he wishes to put an end to it with your help.

Adoo Bradie, his favourite nephew, the son of the former King Saï Quamina, is sent with a proper captain, Quantree, to help you settle the palaver.

Two thousand ounces is the demand.

The origin of the palaver is, that after the King returned from his own campaign against the Fantees, the Commendas went to the Elminas and said, "Well, you help'd the King, and now he is gone back we will fight for it."

Again, when a war was about to take place between the Cape Coast people and the Elminas, the Commendas went to the latter and said, "Well, we will help you if you will give us plenty of powder to fight for you." They did so, and immediately the Commendas used it to seize ninety-eight Elminas, and sold them as slaves—this the King thinks you will say is very bad.

The Cape Coast people and the Fantees having joined against the Elminas, they sent to tell the King, stating, when he demanded the reason, that it was because they had not resisted him when he came down against the Fantees; adding, that the Commendas, who were their natural allies before, had now joined their enemies, and begging the King to revenge this act of perfidy. The King much angered, immediately sent a captain for the purpose of their destruction (Yaquokroko), but the Dutch Governor sent to him and then sent to the King to beg him to stop, because the English and Dutch being one, it would put shame on his face.

Colonel Torrane, by giving up Cheboo, induced the King to consider the Cape Coast people as his friends, and they took fetish accordingly, but their joining the

Fantees afterwards to fight against Elmina for assisting the King, has made him distrust them always since.

He considers his favourite nephew as the adopted son of Colonel Torrane, to whom he gave him, and the Colonel gave him English clothes, so he is all the same as a Cape Coast boy.

Colonel Torrane being dead, he considers his nephew to stand in the same relation to you, and that he is therefore the proper messenger to send to you about this palaver.

You must write in your great book, that the King is your good friend, that he likes you too much, that he thanks God very much, so that every future Governor may read that in the Cape Coast books.

The mark ⋊ of Saï Tootoo, King of Ashantee,
Present. Per T. E. Bowdich.

Wm. Hutchison.
Henry Tedlie.

Coomassie, *July 9th*, 1817.

Coomassie, *July* 12*th*, 1817.

John Hope Smith, Esq., Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c.

Sir,—I am just returned from reading your letter to the King, and extracts from that to myself, before the assembly of the captains: the effect was satisfactory; and Quamina Bootaqua is ordered up to answer for his conduct. The King inquired if the pay now due on the two notes would be liquidated on application; I replied, immediately; he is anxious for it, on account of the approaching yam custom.

I am, &c.
(Signed) T. Edward Bowdich.

I will not continue to copy the rude diary before submitted, it is only a register of dull or disgusting circumstances, illnesses, human sacrifices, and ceremonious visits. I would not anticipate the better arrangement of my reports, or break the thread of the correspondence on the political difficulties opposed to the mission. I will abridge some passages of my diary, merely to give an idea of the nature of our conversations, and the biography of the leading men. Mr. Hutchison has sent me copious extracts from his diary, as Resident; his leisure and tranquillity having afforded him better opportunities of social intercourse and domestic observation than I had, or could afford time to cultivate, without neglecting my reports. I shall adjoin these extracts, expecting they will contribute to the rational entertainment of the public, and to the credit of an active and intelligent officer.

A captain called Asofoo, sent us a present of seven ackies of gold, and we also received twelve from Amanquateä, and three from our house-master. On the 9th of July the King sent us ten ackies of gold, and repeated his satisfaction of the result of the late correspondence, and daily presents of meat and fruits from various quarters, evinced the better opinion of his chiefs.

I paid my first private visit to Baba, the chief Moor, and took some pens, paper, ink, and pencils with me as a present; the paper and pencils were much esteemed, but he preferred his reed and vegetable ink. He received me courteously, and was contemplating a curiously intricate figure like a horoscope; the MS. was filled with them; he laid his finger on it, and

said, if you have any hard palaver this can make me settle it for you when no other person can; or if you have any dear friend in England you wish to see, tell me the name, and this shall bring him to you. I thanked him, observing, that when Englishmen knew their palaver was right, they always left it to God, and that England was too good a place for me to wish any one I regarded to leave it. His disciples and pupils were writing on wooden boards, like those Mr. Park describes. When a charm was applied for, one of the oldest wrote the body of it, and gave it to Baba, who added a sort of cabalistical mark, and gave it a mysterious fold; the credulous native snatched it eagerly as it was held out to him, paid the gold, and hurried away to enclose it in the richest case he could afford. I had a long conversation with Baba, and he begged me to visit him frequently; he was much gratified with the specimens of African Arabic at the end of Mr. Jackson's work, and read them fluently. I visited him the next day, when he sent hastily for a Moor, who he told me was very learned, and just come from Timbuctoo. This man expressing no surprise when he first saw me, Baba explained it by telling me spontaneously, that this Moor had seen three white men before, at Boussa. I eagerly inquired the particulars of the novelty, and they were again repeated to Baba, and were thus interpreted :—"That some years ago, a vessel with masts suddenly appeared on the Quolla or Niger near Boussa, with three white men, and some black. The natives encouraged by these strange men, took off provisions for sale, were well paid, and received presents besides; it seems the vessel had

anchored. The next day, perceiving the vessel going on, the natives hurried after her (the Moor protested from their anxiety to save her from some sunken rocks, with which the Quolla abounds), but the white men mistaking, and thinking they pursued for a bad purpose, deterred them. The vessel soon after struck, the men jumped into the water and tried to swim, but could not for the current, and were drowned. He thought some of their clothes were now at Wauwaw, but he did not believe there were any books or papers." This spontaneous narrative, so artlessly told, made a powerful impression on my mind. I saw the man frequently afterwards, his manners were very mild, and he never asked me for the most trifling present. He drew me a chart before he went away, and I despatched some certificates for Major Peddie by him, endorsed with Baba's recommendations. I heard exactly the same thing afterwards from another Moor, but he had not been an eye-witness. I begged Mr. Hutchison, when I left Coomassie, to note any other report on the subject of Mr. Park's death, and he afterwards sent me the MS., a translation of which is in the Appendix. I continued to call on Baba three or four times a week; these visits afforded much information, for at each I found strange Moors just arrived from different parts of the interior, sojourning with him. They always affected to deplore the ignorance of the Ashantees, and presumed it must be as irksome to me as to them. Baba telling one that I could speak different languages, he said that he would try me, and addressed me in several, all very uncouth to my ear, and their names even unintelligible, except one, which he called Hindee

or Hindoo; neither had I heard of any of the great cities he enumerated, until at last he pronounced Room (Rome), and said, if I did not know that I was not a Christian. I never saw the Shereef Brahima (to whom I was introduced about this time by a Jennë Moor) at Baba's, they did not appear to be on terms; I think the latter was envious of the greater learning and intelligence of the former, who had been to Mecca and Medina. One day I requested Baba to draw me a map of the world; he did so, encircling one large continent with a sea, bounded by a girdle of rocks. Old Odumata's notion of geography was as strange; for he mentioned one day, that when on the coast above Apollonia, he had an idea of walking to England, for he was told he should reach Santonee (Portugal) in thirty days, and that after that, the path was very good. He greatly enjoyed our singeing the hair of a foppish attendant of his with a burning glass, the man's amazement was inconceivable; Mr. Hutchison was at some distance, and not suspected.

We were now permitted to walk four or five miles beyond the city, and felt quite at home. We seldom went out in the morning, lest an occasion for an audience should occur. Apokoo and several other daily visitors diverted us with their anecdotes, and in the afternoon we made our round of calls. Apokoo was always facetious, and looked with much anxiety for our entry as his greatest recreation; he was very desirous of learning tennis and sparring, and daily made some essays, so comical, that neither we nor his attendants could contain ourselves. Apokoo became very communicative of Ashantee politics, and asked

innumerable questions about England; particularly, why the King of England did not send one of his own sons to the King of Ashantee with the presents, and why so great a King sent such a small force to Africa. The Spanish campaign was gone through again and again, and never tired him. He gave us an excellent dinner, as did Odumata repeatedly. Both were extravagantly enraptured with the miniature of an English female, and called all their wives to look at it.

Having been advised by a note from the Governor, of the arrival of an Ashantee boy and girl at Cape Coast Castle, sent by the King without any explanation, I desired an audience on the subject, and forwarded the following letter, which also communicates the baseness of one of the King's messengers, just returned from the Coast, and other inauspicious circumstances :—

COOMASSIE, 10*th Aug.* 1817.

John Hope Smith, Esq., Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,—The King has explained to me that he sent the boy and girl you mention to have arrived at Cape Coast, to become the property of the Committee or Government, conceiving it to be obligatory on him, in justification of his possession of the notes, to allow an Ashantee family to rear itself under the Governor's protection, for the service of the Settlement, and as an acknowledgment of the duties he owes it. He begs me to observe that he put the same plates of gold around their necks which distinguish the royal attendants.

I had reason to believe, from a coolness and some invidious comparisons on the part of the King, that the messenger lately arrived, Ocranameah, who was so particularly recommended to your favour, had been unjust in his report of the treatment he had experienced. I did not hesitate to avow my impression to the King, having solicited an audience for the purpose. The King confessed he had felt his private feelings hurt ever since the return of that messenger, having received his assurance that you would scarcely admit him to your presence; that he received no present or compliment from you, and was wholly neglected during his stay at head-quarters. I instantly pledged my honour to the King that Ocranameah (who was present) was guilty of falsehood and ingratitude, adding, that I was not prepared to confront him with the particulars of the presents he received from you and the officers; though I was positive, from private letters, as well as my own conviction, that you had not slighted the opportunity of evincing your private friendship for the King; and as I might possibly identify some trifle, I wished the King to allow a search to be made. On the messenger's box being sent for and opened two engravings appeared, to the surprise of the King, and which I recognized; but as the messenger still persists in *your* entire neglect of him, and of his not having received any present or compliment worth mentioning, I must trouble you for the particulars of his treatment at Cape Coast Castle, for the entire conviction of the King. The King expressed his suspicion (founded on reports) that many Ashantees imposed on your generosity, by introducing themselves as attached to

him in various capacities; and hoped that you would only listen in future to such as he recommended to your notice by letter, which his three messengers above had been; the second (Ocranameah) the more particularly, and that recollection had made him so sensible of the neglect. You will regret, with myself, that this inauspicious circumstance has been unavoidable.

The recent intelligence respecting the Buntooko war, has imposed serious anxiety in the place of the King's former confidence. The revolt of that people, as may be expected in all revolts from arbitrary control, has gradually induced the secessions of some other tributaries; and the King feels called upon, by these unexpected difficulties, to conduct the war in person; not with his former expectation of witnessing their rapid subjugation, but from his present conviction of the necessity for every stimulus and energy. His precaution has dictated some popular acts, ameliorating the condition of the lower order of his subjects. The confidential ministers have been instructed to hint to me, that it would be indiscreet in the King to expose even his temporary reverses in an arduous war, by the residence of a British officer; and that he would most probably defer that part of the mutual wish until the contest was terminated. I used the same medium to impress upon the King, that such a feeling towards the delegate of a friendly power was misplaced; that you had expedited his ex parte views in the confidence of his consummation of the reciprocal objects of the mission, without which (as they had been instituted for his benefit and aggrandisement) I

could not think of returning, since a protraction would be construed into a slight of the friendly overtures of the British Government, which (from its dignity and pre-eminence in Europe) could not be vouchsafed whenever they might be solicited.

I anxiously await your communications on the Commenda palaver, to further my exertions for the full accomplishment of the mission. The King and his council labour under so much anxiety and business at the present moment, that though we pay and receive visits of ceremony, it is almost impossible to effect an audience but on the receipt of despatches.

I am, &c. &c.

T. Edward Bowdich.

The most entertaining *délassement* of our conversations with the chiefs was, to introduce the liberty of English females, whom we represented not only to possess the advantage of enjoying the sole affection of a husband, but the more enviable privilege of choosing that husband for herself. The effect was truly comic; the women sidled up to wipe the dust from our shoes with their cloths, and at the end of every sentence brushed off an insect, or picked a burr from our trowsers; the husbands suppressing their dislike in a laugh, would put their hands before our mouths, declaring they did not want to hear that palaver any more, abruptly change the subject to war, and order the women to the harem.

One of the King's linguists was a very old man, called Quancum; he spoke but seldom, yet the greatest

deference was paid to his opinion; the King appeared to consult him more than any other. I was so much interested by this man's deportment, that I inquired his history. He had been the linguist of two former Kings, who paid frequent and large sums of gold as damages for his intrigues; neither had age corrected his fault, until very lately, though the present King used the most friendly remonstrances, and urged that from his paying large sums so frequently for him on this account, his subjects thought that he countenanced the depravity. Quancum confessed to the King, that his ardour for women was perpetuated by the sensual devices of one of his wives. Soon afterwards, he was detected in an intrigue with the wife of a captain of great consequence, and the King refused to interfere. The captain declaring that the punishment of Quancum and not gold was his object, the King permitted him to be despoiled of all his property, even to his bed. The favourite wife was amongst the spoil, and the injured captain being much smitten with her, assured her of an indulgence and preference, even greater than that she had enjoyed with Quancum; she replied, she must always hate him, and entreated to be sold. After much importunity the captain agreed to do so, provided she would put him in possession of all the presents Quancum had lavished on her; she produced them, stipulating that her son might retain a small sum of gold, which Quancum had lately presented to him; this was agreed to, and she was immediately sold to a distant caboceer; but her son followed her, and buying her with his little property, presented her again to his father. On this the King gave Quancum a house and some

furniture, and takes care to continue small supplies of gold daily, adequate to his and this woman's comfort; having exacted a solemn oath from him, that he would devote himself to this one wife, and never try to recover any of the others.

Mr. Tedlie's interesting interview with the King, when he desired his attendance to exhibit and explain his surgical instruments and medicines, is best described in his own words.

"The King sent for me this morning, saying he wished to see the medicines, books, and instruments. I went immediately, and explained through Quashie, the Accra linguist, the proper use and advantage of each instrument: he was very particular in his inquiries, and asked if I had performed the operations I described; I assured him that I had, and as a proof exhibited a piece of bone that I had taken out of an Indian black man's head in Ceylon, who had been wounded, and who lived. The King held up his hand as a mark of approbation, and all his attendants were astonished. I applied the instruments first on myself, then on the linguists, afterwards on the King's two captains, and lastly on the King; nothing could exceed the King's approbation. He then desired me to show him the medicines; he inquired the virtues and doses of each, what time in the day they should be taken, and whether it was proper to eat or drink after taking them. I told him: he asked if I would sell them. I said, No. I brought these medicines for the officers; I could not sell them, but I would give him as much as I could, keeping in view that some of the four officers might be sick; he said that I was right, but he could not help coveting the

greater part of the medicines. He viewed them all over five or six times, and asked me to give him some of them; I did give him as much innocent medicine as I could with propriety afford; he thanked me 'very much.' I then showed him the botanical books; he was astonished, held up his hand and exclaimed, hah! at every brilliant or high-coloured plant which he saw. All his attendants were closely arranged around: the two captains laid hold of a volume each, and were admiring the flowers; when either of them ejaculated an admiration, the King would seize it, and ask me what that tree was. After I had told him the use of them, I said all these trees grow in England; and the reason the English write all these in a book is, that they may know which is a good tree, and which is bad. He expressed the greatest astonishment at the flax (linum) oak 'that we build our ships with,' poppy 'that makes a man sleep,' and the sensitive plant (mimosa), which he pointed out and described himself. During this time he whispered to one of his attendants, who went out and returned in a short time with a bit of cloth containing nine ackies of gold; the King presented it to me; I accepted it, and returned thanks. He then asked me if I would come and see him at any time he sent for me; I assured him I would do everything to please him, consistent with my duty. He shook hands with me and went into his house. He returned in a short time, leading his sister by the hand, in a manner that would shame many beaux in Europe, saying, 'This is the white doctor I told you of; go, and take his hand; you are sick, tell him your complaint, and he will do you good:' the lady complied with his request. He

then said, 'Give me that gold I gave you, the cloth is not clean; I want to put it in a clean cloth for you.' He then put it in a piece of rich silk, and after he returned the gold, he said, 'I like you; I like all the English very much; they are a proper people, and I wish to drink health with you.' He retired to his own apartment, and returned with a flask of gin, and two servants with a silver vase and water and glasses; he helped himself and me, made a bow and said, 'Saï wishes you good health.' I returned the bow, saying, 'I wish good health to the King, and hope he never will require any of my medicine: when this was explained to him he held out his glass to me; we touched and drank. He then took my hand, saying, 'If I send my sister to you will you talk with her?' I assured him I would talk with and advise all the King's friends whenever he wished. After I gave all the medicine I could conveniently part with, he sent for a small Dutch liqueur case; he desired ten or twelve of his attendants and his eunuch to keep in their heads what I said, and requested me to repeat again the use and dose of each medicine I gave him, with the proper time and method of using it. I did so. He placed his hand on his head saying, 'Saï recollects what the white doctor says;' then placing the medicines in the case himself, said, 'That good for my head, that good for my belly, that good for my stomach,' &c. One of the King's sisters sent a message that she wanted to come and see the white gentleman; and shortly afterwards arrived with her stool and retinue, being head caboceer of a large town. After exchanging compliments, she complained that her left hand pained her very much. I examined it, but must confess I could

not see anything the matter with it; however I rubbed a little liniment on her hand, which seemed to gratify her. She asked if I would come and see her in the evening; I answered, Yes. Quamina, our Ashantee guide, came to conduct me: he said I must dress, put on my sword and hat, as this woman was a caboceer, and the King's sister; he would carry my umbrella. When I arrived, I found the princess lying on a mat in one of the inner apartments of the house she occupied. She ordered a stool for me; I rubbed some more liniment on her hand; she wished me to stop and drink palm wine: this I declined, alleging the English did not like palm wine in the evening because it is sour."

CHAPTER V.

PROCEEDINGS AND INCIDENTS UNTIL THE SIGNING OF THE PRELIMINARIES TO A GENERAL TREATY.

[The Governor's reply to my communication on the subject of the Commenda palaver reached me on the 27th of August.]

CAPE COAST CASTLE, *August 11th*, 1817.

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

SIR,—I entertained a confident hope that no further mention would have been made by the King concerning the Commendas after the receipt of my letter, and I am sorry that he should allow so insignificant a set of people to protract in the least the settlement of our union. As it is my particular wish to remove this impediment, I have used every endeavour to bring the affair to a conclusion, and trust the King will not suffer it to be invincible. The Commendas are also naturally anxious for its termination, but their poverty is so great, that they have it not in their power to comply with his demand. They have acknowledged their fealty to the King, and have agreed to pay the sum of 120 ounces of gold, of which messengers are sent by his nephew to inquire whether he will accept. This, with the sum they have been unavoidably obliged

to promise the principal persons deputed to negotiate this business, will increase the sum to at least 150 ounces. The many proofs the King has had of my friendly intentions towards him, and the consideration of the benefits that will accrue to him from his alliance with the English, will, I hope, induce him to concede to the terms offered by the Commendas. A refusal must be considered as an avowal of his determined resolution not to conciliate the affair, and as the indigent circumstances of these people make it utterly impossible for them to pay a larger sum, you will, should he persist in exacting more, procure his permission to leave the country, and return with the other officers as soon as you can. To sacrifice the mission, after the heavy expenses which have been incurred, and when we are induced to believe that every other object is propitiated to our utmost expectations, should be avoided if possible; but if he insists on a larger sum being levied from the Commendas than has been offered, there remains no other alternative. The dignity of the flag must be the superior consideration to all others.

The King has no need to doubt in the least the sincerity of the Cape Coast people, they are his friends, and have every inclination to continue so; and I am convinced his nephew will, on his return, confirm this report to him.

I will make known to the Committee his request for a crown and clothes, and I have no doubt but it will be complied with.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
JOHN HOPE SMITH.

COOMASSIE, *Aug.* 29*th*, 1817.

John Hope Smith, Esq., Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,—I have the satisfaction to enclose a copy of the Preliminaries to the general Treaty, as signed this day by the King in Council, adjusting the Commenda palaver, agreeably to your letter of the 11th, which did not reach me till the 27th instant.

I proceed to acquaint you with the transactions of the interval.

The charge of a political Embassy, in a part of the world where respect and security are founded upon the opinion imposed by our conduct, exacted a spirit and dignity which might have been abated in insinuating a mission through the country for scientific purposes, but the inviolability of which was inseparable from the improvement and safety of neighbouring settlements. Since my last despatch, I have been obligated to resist various encroachments, of which I shall mention two or three to justify my treatment of them.

The death of Quamina Bwa, our Ashantee guide, in the early part of the last week, creating an idle but popular superstition that he had been killed by the fetish for bringing white men to take the country, I was applied to in the King's name to ameliorate this impression, by contributing an ounce of gold towards the custom to be made by the King for his repose. I refused on two grounds; first, that Quamina Bwa had himself unjustly incensed the people against us, by panyaring[1] their provisions in the King's name for

[1] Seizing.

our subsistence, and defrauding them of the gold we gave him for the payment: secondly, that the rites of customs were unnatural to our religion, which bound us, at least, not to encourage them. Fifteen persons had been sacrificed the week before (in a custom for the mother of a captain) with aggravated barbarity.

Several of the principal men having applied to me to send to Cape Coast for silks, to be paid for on receipt at Coomassie (a very dangerous and impolitic indulgence), I impressed, indignantly, that I was not sent as a trader to make bargains with them, but as an officer to talk the palavers with the King.

These circumstances, and a personal chastisement of some insults from inferior captains, which was provoked after much patience, influenced ex-parte representations, which, though they may not have sickened the King's regard, induced hauteur and neglect. In proceeding to the King's house on public occasions, which I never did without the flag, canes, and soldiers, we had been expected to make way for the greater retinues of superior captains, who would rudely have enforced it; and after soliciting audiences for two days, I was kept in waiting above an hour in the outer courts of the palace. On the last occasion of the latter treatment, knowing that it was affected, I returned to our quarters until I received the King's invitation; representing to him, that as an officer dignified by an authority to make a treaty with him in the name of the British Government, I could not submit to disrespectful treatment at the Palace, nor allow the English flag to give place to any but himself; that, if it merely affected myself as an individual, my esteem for the King would induce

me to compromise these points of etiquette with his captains; but, according to the custom of England, I dared not, for if I did my sword would be taken from me on my return to Cape Coast Castle. It produced the desired effect; the gong-gong proclaimed in every street that all captains must make way for the flag; and at the monthly levee of the captains (the Adaï custom) the King's linguists were deputed to us first, with the customary present of a sheep and rum, and presented us the first to pay our compliments to the King, being followed by Amanquateä, Quatchie Quophi, Apokoo, and Odumata, the four captains composing the Privy Council, or Aristocracy, which checks the King. The first (whose power approximates to that of the Mayor of the Palace under the early French dynasty) sent his linguist and gold swords to compliment us on the ground. I determined to take advantage of this impression, and of the comparative facility of intercourse, and demanded an audience to discuss the treaty, a copy of which I enclose, and hope my additions will be satisfactory. I have the King's assurance that it shall be formally executed in eight days, when all his tributaries will be present for the yam custom, and when I hope to make the King of Dwabin and its dependencies a party, whose power is equal to the King of Ashantee's.

To resume—the audience was granted; and I read the treaty before the King and his council, submitting it article by article to their consideration. It was debated the whole of that and the succeeding day. I considered that if I could get the treaty discussed and executed in this favourable interval, removing the Commenda palaver from the situation of an obstacle,

and reserving it as the first proof of the King's disposition to coincide with you in what was reasonable and just, I might, on the receipt of despatches, gain the better terms for that people.

On Saturday, the 22nd instant, I was summoned to declare the articles of the treaty before the assembly of captains, who were seated with their attendants and warriors in the large yard of the palace, with all the imposing pomp and military parade which had before been collected to subdue us in the scene of the declaration of war. The King's sisters, with the females of his family, were seated, with their numerous attendants, on an elevated floor behind. The deputies from the Fantee towns in the interior, were placed within hearing, and the crowd was almost impervious: the most ghastly trophies were mixed with this blaze of ostentation. We were seated near the King, immediately opposite to his linguists.

In reading the treaty, I paused after every article, leaving it to be formally repeated to the King through his linguists, and then sat down whilst it was discussed by the assembly. It is not necessary to repeat the various debates; and I will only notice that Amanquateä, through his linguist, proposed the renewal of the Slave-trade as a sine quâ non;[2] this, however, as I

[2] Presents from two Spanish slave ships were received through the Mulatto Brue on the 16th instant; they were general, but I can only particularize the following:

To the King, 3 pieces of cloth, 1 umbrella, and a hat.

To the chief linguist, 1 piece, ditto 2 flashes liquor.

To the 4th ditto (Otee) 1 ditto. 2 ditto, ditto.

To Odumata, 2 ditto. 2 ditto, ditto.

To Quamina Bwa, agent for the purchase of the slaves, 2 pieces of cloth, 1 umbrella, and 1 Dane gun.

had all along declared it to be impossible, was at length overruled, but with considerable difficulty. It was also proposed to attach a fine to the infraction of the treaty; but this I resisted as derogatory to the dignity of the contracting parties; and urged, that as the King and his dignitaries would consider his oath as sacred, as you and the Government would mine, I considered no *infraction* of the treaty could take place; though it might possibly be *offended* by the conduct of his subjects, or of individuals under British protection, which was provided for, and must be visited accordingly by the authorities pledged to the treaty.

I had declared from the first, that it would be expected that the King should swear in the form of his country to the fulfilment and preservation of the treaty, and that his oath should be attested by his principal captains, from my anxiety to fortify to the utmost, a measure not only valuable to commerce but to humanity, in averting the renewal of a war, recorded by indelible marks of carnage and devastation.

At the moment I expected the King to execute the treaty, a fresh design was disclosed, in a long speech from the chief linguist, setting forth the wrongs the King had just received from the people of Amissa, who had scourged his messengers, and couched their insulting defiance in the foulest language; yet, he said, the King did not want to invade the Fantee country for the sake of one town, and therefore I must stay and assist him to settle that palaver; he would then readily swear to the treaty. I replied at length, declaring particularly that I could not, and would not recognize

the Amissa palaver; that the King vitiated the compliments he had been pleased to pay me, in expecting me to be such a fool as to involve you in the palaver of a people, over whom you neither possessed nor desired authority; and that if I had not a right to think better of the King, I should view such a proposal as evasive of the treaty, and final to the hope of a thorough understanding.

The chief linguist rejoined, that I had declared in announcing the treaty, that it was the wish of the British Government to put an end to war, and for the King to have no occasion to trouble the Fantees; whereas, if the people of Amissa were not persuaded to retract, the King must send a captain to destroy them, which could be done at a word, and this perhaps would make another war. I urged that the Fantee towns under the British forts must be considered distinctly, and that those, and those only, were viewed by the Government and the treaty; yet, for the cause of humanity, I would request you, for the King, to advise the people of Amissa better, through some medium, which I hoped might do good, but if disregarded, you could not even repeat it: that was all I could promise, and if that was not enough, our negotiations were at an end. No! that was not enough, I must stay and see the palaver settled.

We immediately rose, and I declared as impressively as I could, that as the officer of the King of England, your orders only could be obeyed by me, that I dared not remain or allow myself to be stopped, even if I should be killed on the path, for my life was not my palaver, but the King of England's. As I bowed to

retire, the linguist exclaimed, that the King promised to see me again in an hour.

I used the interval for reflection, and resolved to act upon the conclusion, that nothing but an undaunted resolution could check these encroachments, which were to be attributed to the Government rather than to the King.

The hour having fully expired, I sent a cane to Adooçee, the chief linguist, to desire the audience; he sent me word that the King was asleep, and no one dared to awake him. I then went to Odumata (who resides within the palace) and repeated to him, that I was determined to go if the King did not keep his word and see me; he said I could not; I rejoined, I would, and left him. I then went to Adooçee's house, declared the same, and received the same reply. I left a cane in waiting at the palace, with orders to quit and return to me at four o'clock (which allowed altogether four hours instead of one), if he was not despatched with a message in the interval. No notice was taken; there was no alternative to my making good what I had said. The views of the mission were at risk, but they would have been too dearly purchased by such concessions, and I was sanguine rather than apprehensive of the success of the measure I adopted; without spirit and fortitude nothing was to be done.

I ordered all the baggage out, planted the flag, and giving the soldiers' muskets to the officers, converted them and the artificers into bearers, as well as our own servants, for I saw the previous dismissal of my own people was considered a hold on me. I ordered the linguists to declare to the party publicly, that I would

flog any man who attempted to leave the town in debt; I paid all they confessed, by advances on their pay, to the amount of ten ackies: this gave the greatest publicity to our movements.

The King's uncle, Bundaenha, and another superior captain, came in form to entreat me to stay, whilst they affected to address the King. I saw through this, and that I might presume on it; holding the watch in my hand, I promised to wait half an hour and no longer. They returned within the time to conduct me to the King, but after being kept unusually long in waiting, the answer to my remonstrance through the linguists was, that the King was very busy hearing a great palaver; I saw they lingered still in their hope of my submission. I sent the two canes to tell the King that mine was a great palaver and ought to be heard, not only from its importance, but because he had passed his word that it should; that after a King disregarded his promise, it was useless to wait any longer. Returning to our quarters, I ordered the people to load the baggage.

At the moment of starting, a royal messenger ran up, to say the King was waiting to see me. I dismissed him with the message, that I could not stop, unless a person of consequence was sent to *promise* for the King. The King's uncle came, and assured me the King would receive me himself at the entrance of the palace. We went, and were instantly ushered into the presence of the King and his captains, who were debating by torch-light: the clamour and deportment of this assembly might have been subduing had it been novel. The uproar having abated, the King demanded, through his

linguist, why I had determined to leave so suddenly, and whether he had not behaved well to me, adding to much declamation, that he knew the King of England and the Governor wished to please him, and would not countenance the act. I replied, that "I had not only gone the full length of my instructions to please the King, but exceeded them; and all that I had to fear was, that you would not approve my remaining a moment after he had trifled with me. The King's behaviour to me, as an individual, I should always be proud to speak of, but his respect of the Embassy was a very superior consideration. Everything he wished had been done, and now he tried to impose a palaver on me, with which you had no more to do than with the Buntooko war. The King had promised me to settle the point of the treaty, I waited the discussion patiently, he pledged his word to see me that evening, he had avoided it; I had said I would wait no longer if he did not keep his word; no English officer dared to break his word, if he did he lost his sword." Much declamation ensued, but the King's conviction silenced the assembly, and realized the triumph I expected. He said, What I told him was true, that he was very sorry, but he had too much to think about; he liked the Law (the Treaty) very well, but begged me to wait a little longer till all his captains came. I received his promise to see me the following day. The next morning the head linguist came in form to acquaint me that some palavers had arrived in the night, which had made it necessary for the King to go to Berramang (a croom about five miles to the N.E. on the road to Sallagha, the capital of the Inta country) but he had orders to

furnish us with the King's hammock-men, if we were inclined to follow him the next day. We did so, and I enclose an extract from my diary, with the circumstances of the day, as they do not affect the point in question: on taking leave in the evening, the King promised that I should hear from him the next day.

Apokoo, who had been left in charge of the town, visited me in form by the King's orders, with the criers and insignia, to assure me there should be no more impediments to the treaty, and that the King would return the next day. The evening was productive of another disturbance, from my resistance of an indignity. The Cape Coast messenger arriving, informed me that the despatches and letters were retained by Adoo Bradie's messenger, who accompanied him. I sent the canes to Apokoo's to demand them, but ineffectually; I then went myself, and insisted on the delivery; he said it could not be allowed until the King returned to the capital. I protested so strongly against the act, that he sent for the chief linguist (Adoocee) and after a palaver, they promised to send me the letters on my return to the house: I left the canes in waiting. The time allowed having expired without the receipt, I went again to Apokoo's, who referred me to Adoocee. I went to him, and he said he dared not interfere in the business. The Cape Coast messengers refusing to do so, we proceeded instantly to Adoo Bradie's house, and finding the messenger, demanded the letters, and obtained them. I had scarcely read them, before Adoocee came with some captains, and about 100 persons (being then nine o'clock), to demand my

delivery of your letter to his charge, until the King's return. I indignantly refused, asserting my authority, and criminating such a request as injurious to the rights of the meanest subject of the King of England, and an insuperable affront to you. He tried threats and entreaties alternately; the former I treated with contempt, the latter I regretted I dared not yield to. The palaver was prolonged till ten o'clock at night. I determined not to lose ground. The King did not arrive until the evening of the next day; I sent three canes with my compliments on his return, and received his with an appointment of an audience the next (this) morning.

We were sent for early, the affair of the letters was opposed to me. I repeated my declarations to Adoocee, and added, that I should not think of leaving a Resident, if such were the forms of the Ashantee Court. The Ashantee messengers declared that you had ordered your letters to be delivered to the King. I said that was impossible. The King was very gentle, but such was the suspicion of the assembly, that they requested me to swear on my sword, that I had not altered any part of your letter; I did so, prefacing the act as such a suspicion merited. I then read your letter, abating nothing of its spirit and firmness, and laying stress upon your disposition to benefit the King, and the proofs you had given. I concluded my illustrations with the declaration, that you did not settle the King's palaver from fear, but from friendship, as it remained with him to prove. I submitted the preliminaries in form, for rejection or acceptance. After an ardent debate among the captains, they were

executed and attested, and I lose no time in forwarding the copy. I left a duplicate with the King, as I shall of the treaty.

The King intends to despatch a messenger directly to empower Adoo Bradie to receive the gold, and hopes you will recommend the people of Commenda to restore any of the slaves in their possession belonging to Elmina, although that is not his palaver.

The King desired me to communicate his best thanks for your handsome treatment of his nephew, whose reports have been very flattering.

I urged my intercessions for Quamina Bootaqua, until the King vouchsafed me his assurance that he would pardon him.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that I have been able, privately, so far to conciliate the Moors, as to have witnessed their forwardance of the certificates to the interior, with their own letters of recommendation endorsed.

I advocated the merits of the Castle linguist, De Graff, as you desired, and successfully. I flatter myself this will anticipate the arrival of the King's and the Cape Coast messengers.

I am, &c. &c.

T. E. Bowdich.

Preliminaries of a General Treaty, to be made and entered into by THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH, *Esquire, for the Governor and Council of Cape Coast Castle, and on the part of the British Government, with* SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA, *King of Ashantee and its Dependencies.*

1st. The King accepts the offer of the people of Commenda, through the Governor-in-Chief; namely, one hundred and twenty ounces of gold for himself, and the customary fees to his ambassadors, as a settlement in full of all demands.

2nd. The people of Commenda shall acknowledge their fealty to the King, and be entitled to all the benefits of his protection.

3rd. The King shall authorize some responsible captain to receive the gold from the hands of the deputies of the people of Commenda, at Cape Coast Castle.

4th. It is hereby agreed, that every palaver is now settled preparatory to the General Treaty, which shall be executed forthwith.

Signed and sealed this twenty-ninth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

The mark of SAI TOOTOO QUAMINA. ⋈ (L.S.)

T. E. BOWDICH. (L.S.)

In the presence of

WILLIAM HUTCHISON.

HENRY TEDLIE.

ADOOCEE, Chief Linguist.

APOKOO, Keeper of the Treasury.

QUAMINA QUATCHIE, } Linguists to the Mission.
QUASHEE APAINTREE, }

Extract from Diary.—Monday, 25th August, we started soon after seven o'clock, and proceeding in a N.E. direction, crossed the marsh close to the town, where it was about two feet deep and one hundred and fifty yards broad. We travelled the path to Sallagha, through a beautiful country, abounding in neat crooms (of which we passed through seven), the sites spacious, and environed by extensive plantations. The path was wide and so nearly direct, that the eye was always in advance through beautiful vistas varied by gentle risings. The iron stone still prevailed.

The King received us in the market-place, and inquiring anxiously if we had breakfasted, ordered refreshment. After some conversation we were conducted to a house prepared for our reception, where a relish was served (sufficient for an army) of soups, stews, plantains, yams, rice, &c. (all excellently cooked), wine, spirits, oranges, and every fruit. The messengers, soldiers, and servants, were distinctly provided for. Declining the offer of beds, we walked out in the town, and conversed and played draughts with the Moors, who were reclining under trees: the King joined us with cheerful affability, and seemed to have forgotten his cares. About two o'clock dinner was announced. We had been taught to prepare for a surprise, but it was exceeded. We were conducted to the eastern side of the croom to a door of green reeds, which excluded the crowd, and admitted us through a short avenue to the King's garden, an area equal to one of the large squares in London. The breezes were strong and constant. In the centre, four large umbrellas of new scarlet cloth were fixed, under which was the

King's dining table (heightened for the occasion) and covered in the most imposing manner; his massy plate was well disposed, and silver forks, knives, and spoons (Colonel Torrane's) were plentifully laid. The large silver waiter supported a roasting pig in the centre; the other dishes on the table were roasted ducks, fowls, stews, peas-pudding, &c. &c. On the ground on one side of the table were various soups, and every sort of vegetable; and elevated parallel with the other side, were oranges, pines, and other fruits; sugar-candy, Port and Madeira wine, spirits and Dutch cordials, with glasses. Before we sat down the King met us, and said, that as we had come out to see him, we must receive the following present from his hands: two ounces four ackies of gold, one sheep and one large hog to the officers, ten ackies to the linguists, and five ackies to our servants.

We never saw a dinner more handsomely served, and never ate a better. On our expressing our relish, the King sent for his cooks, and gave them ten ackies. The King and a few of his captains sat at a distance, but he visited us constantly, and seemed quite proud of the scene; he conversed freely, and expressed much satisfaction at our toasts, "The King of Ashantee, the King of England, the Governor, the King's Captains, a perpetual union (with a speech, which is the *sine quâ non*), and the handsome women of England and Ashantee." After dinner the King made many inquiries about England, and retired, as we did, that our servants might clear the table, which he insisted on. When he returned, some of the wine and Dutch cordials remaining, he gave them to our

servants to take with them, and ordered the table-cloth to be thrown to them and all the napkins. A cold pig, cold fowls (with six that had not been dressed), were despatched to Coomassie for our supper. We took leave about five o'clock, the King accompanying us to the end of the croom, where he took our hands, and wished us good night. We reached the capital again at six, much gratified by our excursion and treatment.

Mr. Tedlie had brought Quamina Bwa (our guide) into a very advanced state of convalescence; but he so eagerly betook himself from low diet to palm oil soups and stews of blood, that he soon relapsed, and a gathering formed on his liver, aggravated not a little by the various fetish draughts he swallowed. Seeing there was no other chance, Mr. Tedlie, who is a very skilful operator, would have scarified the liver; but although I had great reason to rely confidently on his judgment and ability, I thought our situation too critical to run such a risk. A Fantee boy having fractured his leg, and his dissolution appearing inevitable, the parents in great distress applied to the surgeon of an English out-fort, who amputated the limb, and after much wearying attendance, to the surprise of every one, restored the boy to health. The family then brought him into the fort, and laying him down in the hall, addressed the surgeon (who was in charge of the fort) thus: "As master cut off poor boy's leg, and so spoil poor boy for work, we come to ask master how much he think to give poor boy to keep him."

Quamina Bwa was fetished until the last moment,

and died amidst the howls of a legion of old hags, plastering the walls, door-posts, and everything about him, with chopped egg and different messes. I forget how many sheep he had sacrificed to the fetish by the advice of these harpies. The King sent him a sheep and a periguin of gold, when he heard he was ill. This man had settled the palaver with Mr. White, after the blockade of Cape Coast in 1815, the third invasion of the Ashantees, and was universally odious for his cruel extortions; these being reported to the King, he was disgraced; and being very extravagant, became much involved. Being at Payntree, he prevailed on Quamina Bushmaquaw to allow him to conduct us, to retrieve his finances a little. Excepting Adoocee, the King's chief linguist, he was the most plausible villain I ever met with.

The head of an Akim caboceer arrived in Coomassie about this time. The King and the Ashantee Government had proposed that every croom of Akim should pay twenty periguins of gold as an atonement for their late revolt. Ten periguins were advanced immediately by each, and the other moiety was excused until after the harvest; but Aboidedroo, caboceer of Manasoo, resolutely refused to pay a tokoo. The King's messengers, however, appealed to his people with so much address, that they rose upon their caboceer, killed him, and sent his head to the King, with the twenty periguins required.

CHAPTER VI.

PROCEEDINGS AND INCIDENTS UNTIL THE RATIFICATION OF A GENERAL TREATY.

THE report of an Ashantee having been flogged to death in Cape Coast Castle, which was aggravated every hour to our prejudice, was explained by the following letter:—

CAPE COAST CASTLE, *August 17th*, 1817.

T. E. BOWDICH, ESQ.

SIR,—The day before yesterday an Ashantee man was guilty of a most daring insult to the fort. On passing the gate, he was desired by the sentinel to take his cloth off his shoulders, but instead of complying, he turned round and struck him. The offender was instantly secured, and I ordered him to be put in irons. Last night about nine o'clock, the captain of the guard came to me to say that the sentry on duty had reported the Ashantee to have hung himself. The place in which he was with others confined was immediately opened, and he was found in a room adjoining to that in which the prisoners sleep, with his undercloth attached to a beam not more than three feet high, and very tightly drawn round his throat, part of

his body was lying on the ground, and it must have been by the most determined resolution that he succeeded in strangling himself. The surgeon was present, but his efforts to recover him were ineffectual. This is the second offence of a similar nature that has occurred; the first person, I most assuredly should have punished, had he not run past the sentry and made his escape.

The King's displeasure will no doubt be excited when he hears of such acts of insolence, and I hope he will issue such orders to his people as will make them more circumspect in future.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
J. H. Smith.

Coomassie, 31*st August*, 1817.

John Hope Smith, Esq., *Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

Sir,—I received your letter last evening respecting the suicide of the Ashantee. I procured an audience this morning, and have just returned from the palace, where I had the honour to address you a letter in the name of the King on this and other subjects.

The messenger sent up by Adoo Bradie was the brother of the deceased, and declared before the King upon oath that he had been killed by the officers. The master (our landlord) proposed a fine to the captains assembled, but after the audience was gone through the King retired to council, which is the form, and returning, dictated the sentiments I had the

honour to communicate to you, and rebuked our housemaster severely for his proposition. Of course I impressed the insult to the fort, as the superior consideration of your letter.

The insolence of the lower orders here became insufferable, they proceeded even to pelting us with stones, after every effort on our part to conciliate them by the exhibition of the telescope and other novelties. As may be expected in a military government, they are beyond the King's control, out of the field. He declared, however, that he would behead any man I would point out to him, and begged me to punish them as I thought proper; a summary chastisement of two inferior captains repressed this spirit.

All the captains of consequence have become friendly and respectful; Apokoo was deputed in form yesterday, in the name of the whole, to thank me for my conduct in negotiating with the King.

The treaty will be brought forward to be executed in six days, before the annual assembly of Kings, caboceers, and captains. All the King's tributaries and allies being compelled to attend him at the yam custom.

The King intends your linguist, De Graff, to take fetish with his five linguists, to be just to both the powers to be pledged to the treaty, and is convinced of his probity.

I am, with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

T. Edward Bowdich.

Coomassie, 31*st August*, 1817.

Saï Tootoo Quamina, *King of Ashantee, &c., to* John Hope Smith, *Esquire, Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

Sir,—The King assures you that, anticipating the permanent union of the English and Ashantees, so far from allowing the death of one man to retard it, he should take no notice if a thousand were flogged to death by you, as reported here, well knowing the insolent disposition of the lower order of Ashantees, which is as vexatious to him as to you. He is satisfied, however, that this man came to his death by his own hands.

The King wishes you to adjust the palaver between the Commendas and Elminas as soon as convenient to you; that all the people who serve him may be united, relying entirely on your justice.

The King will thank you very much if you will make the people of Cape Coast, Elmina, and Commenda "*all one together.*"

The little palaver between these people is the only one remaining; and, therefore, though it is not his, he wishes you to settle it.

The King hereby, and by his messenger, empowers his nephew Adoo Bradie, and the Captain Quantree, to receive the gold from the deputies of Commenda in your presence.

You must settle the compliments and fees which the Commendas send to the King's linguists and captains.

The King hopes you will advise the people of Amissa, through some medium, to retract their insolent

message to the King, that the whole of the Fantee territory may be quiet.

The King has condescended personally to solicit Mr. Bowdich to protract his stay fifteen days, and obliged all his captains to the same condescension, so that you will consider it the King's act from the wish to send him down with an honourable escort, and other marks of his favour.

The King wishes you health and happiness.

The mark ⋊ of Saï Tootoo Quamina, &c.

In the presence of

Wm. Hutchison.

Henry Tedlie.

A few only of the many curious observations of our Ashantee friends recur to me. One captain told us he had heard that the English were so constantly in palavers one with another, that their houses, which he understood to be made of wood the same as their ships, were always fixed on wheels; so that when a man had quarrelled with his neighbour, he moved to another part of the bush. Another insisted that monkeys (whom the Moors said sprung from the Israelites, who disobeyed Moses) could talk as well as men, but they were not such fools; for if they did, they knew men would make them work. This is better than Pliny's account of monkeys playing chess.

The King walked abroad in great state one day, an irresistible caricature; he had on an old-fashioned court suit of General Daendels' of brown velveteen, richly embroidered with silver thistles, with an English epaulette sewn on each shoulder, the coat coming close

round the knees, from which the flaps of the waistcoat were not very distant, a cocked hat bound with gold lace, in shape just like that of a coachman's, white shoes, the long silver-headed cane we presented to him, mounted with a crown, as a walking staff, and a small dirk round his waist.

The King presented one of our servants with six ackies of gold, for making trousers for his child and mending him a pair of drawers, which he thought it extravagant to put on under trousers or small clothes, and therefore wore them alone.

I fixed a rude leaping-bar in the outer yard of our house, and trained the horse to it preparatory to getting him over the trunks of trees on the path : this brought even greater levees than the camera obscura or the telescope. Sometimes a gazer would start from the eyepiece of the latter, to lay hold of the figure at the end, as he expected; and they all insisted on both being taken to pieces in their presence, that they might see what was inside. At length, being inexplicable, it was pronounced fetish. A captain had told the King, that with the telescope we saw when at Doompassie all that he was doing at Coomassie; and happening, in a sudden and heavy rain to gallop from Asafoo to our house, with Mr. Tedlie on the horse behind me, holding the umbrella, it was immediately reported to the King as our plan of travelling to Cape Coast.

Our Accra linguist pointed out a man to me named Tando, whom he recollected to have visited the Coast some years in great pomp, never going the shortest distance, but in his taffeta hammock, covered with a

gorgeous umbrella, and surrounded by flatterers, who even wiped the ground before he trod on it. This man had now scarcely a cloth to cover him; he had been retired from his embassy to Akim, in consequence of a dispute with Attah, then the king of that country; for though Attah was adjudged to be in fault, after the palaver was talked at Coomassie, the Ashantee Government thought it politic to displace Tando, though he had become disagreeable to the other only for his vigilance and fidelity. After a long interval of the most luxurious life the capital could afford, he was instructed to proceed to Elmina, to talk a palaver for the King: but thinking it would be a coup d'éclat much more important and agreeable, if he could settle the Warsaw palaver as well, he visited the country on his return, and persuaded them to conciliate the King and avert their ruin, by carrying a considerable sum of gold to Coomassie, and agreeing to pay twenty-four slaves for every Ashantee subject killed or injured by one of Warsaw. Deputies returned with this man for this purpose; but the King dismissed them contemptuously; and to the disappointment and surprise of Tando, declared that no man must dare to do good out of his own head, or perhaps he would find he did bad, as Tando had done, in spoiling a palaver which he and his great men meant to sleep a long time. Tando was immediately stripped of all his property for his presumption, and from a noble became a beggar.

The Moors now became friendly, and sent us some very good coffee, and choice pieces of meat.

Coomassie, *Sept. 8th*, 1817.

John Hope Smith, *Esquire, Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c.*

Sir,—I have the satisfaction to inform you that the treaty was signed and sworn to yesterday by the King of Ashantee, and this day by the King of Dwabin. The whole of the caboceers, captains, and tributaries having arrived, the treaty was finally discussed on Saturday, and two of the four members of the aristocracy, with the two oldest captains (Ashantee and Nabbra) were deputed to swear for that assembly, with the King, whose oaths (being very rare) are solemnized by the presence of his wives.

The King sent a handsome procession of flags, guns, and music, to conduct us to the palace on the occasion; and meeting us in the outer square, preceded us to the inmost, where about 300 females were seated in all the magnificence which a profusion of gold and silk could furnish. The splendour of this coup d'œil made our surprise almost equal to theirs. We were seated with the King and the deputies under the large umbrellas in the centre, and I was desired to declare the objects of the Embassy and the Treaty to an old linguist peculiar to the women. The King displayed the presents to them; the flags were all sewn together, and wrapped around him as a cloth.

I was afterwards desired to stand before the King, and swear on my sword that I had declared the truth: I did so, with the other officers. The next form dictated was, that I should seat myself and receive the oaths of the deputies; and lastly, of the King himself, for his brother the King of England. They advanced

in turn, extending their gold swords close to my face as they declared their oaths. I rose to receive the King's, all the women holding up two fingers as their mark of approbation when he received the sword, and one of his counsellors kneeling beside him with a large stone on his head. The King swore very deliberately, that his words might be fully impressed on me, invoking God and the fetish to kill him, first, if he did not keep the law, if we had sworn true; and secondly, if he did not revenge the Ashantees to the full, if we had bad in our heads, and did not come for the purpose I avowed. The assurances and the menaces of the oaths of the captains were equally forcible. The King sent an anker of rum to our people to drink on the occasion, and paid each captain the customary fee of a periguin of gold on his oath.

The King having communicated my wish by a formal message to Boïtinnee Quama, the King of Dwabin, who holds his temporary court on the north side of the town, I seconded it by sending the canes to request an audience; at which I had again formally to declare the objects of the Embassy and the Treaty, which, after a great deal of form and inquiry, received his signature, with the attestations of his chief linguists, Quama Saphoo, and Kobara Saphoo, who are his principal counsellors. His court was equally crowded with the King of Ashantee's, who sits on his right hand when he visits Dwabin, a reciprocal etiquette.

By an addition to the fourth article of the treaty, I reconciled the point of the Amissa palaver; and the securing you the opportunity of mediation (without attaching anything like responsibility), I considered to

be not only a precaution due to humanity, but a prudent and legitimate measure for the extension of our influence.

The value of this treaty is enhanced by the reflection, that the justice, dignity, and spirit of the British Government have been preserved inviolate; and that it has been the result of the impression, and not of the abatement of these characteristics.

We are flattered by your acknowledgment of our offer to accompany the King to the Buntooko war, and feel the force of your reason in the present view of the invasion of that country. The lake proving to be southward instead of northward, and close to the Accra path, I did not think it prudent to aggravate suspicion for so secondary and well-defined an object, whilst every day exacted some exertion (beyond vigilance) to wear away the difficulties opposed to the more important views of the mission.

I expect the King will permit me to take leave on Saturday next. To-morrow, Apokoo gives us a dinner in public.

I am, with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

T. E. Bowdich.

Treaty made and entered into by THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH, *Esquire, in the name of the Governor and Council at Cape Coast Castle, on the Gold Coast of Africa, and on behalf of the British Government, with* SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA, *King of Ashantee and its Dependencies, and* BOÏTINNEE QUAMA, *King of Dwabin and its Dependencies.*

1st. There shall be perpetual peace and harmony between the British subjects in this country, and the subjects of the Kings of Ashantee and Dwabin.

2nd. The same shall exist between the subjects of the Kings of Ashantee and Dwabin, and all nations of Africa residing under the protection of the Company's Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast; and it is hereby agreed, that there are no palavers now existing, and that neither party has any claim upon the other.

3rd. The King of Ashantee guarantees the security of the people of Cape Coast from the hostilities threatened by the people of Elmina.

4th. In order to avert the horrors of war, it is agreed that in any case of aggression on the part of the natives under British protection, the Kings shall complain thereof to the Governor-in-Chief to obtain redress, and that they will in no instance resort to hostilities, even against the other towns of the Fantee territory, without endeavouring as much as possible to effect an amicable arrangement, affording the Governor the opportunity of propitiating it as far as he may with discretion.

5th. The King of Ashantee agrees to permit a British officer to reside constantly at his capital, for the purpose

of instituting and preserving a regular communication with the Governor-in-Chief at Cape Coast Castle.

6th. The Kings of Ashantee and Dwabin pledge themselves to countenance, promote, and encourage the trade of their subjects with Cape Coast Castle and its dependencies to the extent of their power.

7th. The Governors of the respective forts shall at all times afford every protection in their power to the persons and property of the people of Ashantee and Dwabin who may resort to the water side.

8th. The Governor-in-Chief reserves to himself the right of punishing any subject of Ashantee or Dwabin guilty of secondary offences, but in case of any crime of magnitude, he will send the offender to the Kings, to be dealt with according to the laws of his country.

9th. The Kings agree to commit their children to the care of the Governor-in-Chief for education at Cape Coast Castle, in the full confidence of the good intentions of the British Government, and of the benefits to be derived therefrom.

10th. The Kings promise to direct diligent inquiries to be made respecting the officers attached to the mission of Major John Peddie and Captain Thomas Campbell, and to influence and oblige the neighbouring kingdoms and their tributaries, to befriend them as the subjects of the British Government.

Signed and sealed at Coomassie, this seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

The mark of Saï Too Quamina ⋈ (L. S.)
The mark of Boïtinnee Quama ⋈ (L. S.)
Thomas Edward Bowdich. (L. S.)

In the presence of
WILLIAM HUTCHISON, Resident.
HENRY TEDLIE, Assistant Surgeon.

The mark of APOKOO ✕ ODUMATA ✕ NABBRA ✕ ASHANTEE ✕ Deputed from the General Assembly of caboceers and captains to swear with the King.

KABRA SAPHOO ✕ QUAMINA SAPHOO ✕ Linguists to the King of Dwabin.

QUASHEE APAINTREE ✕ Accra Linguist.

QUASHEE TOM ✕ QUAMINA QUATCHEE ✕ Cape Coast Linguists.

We were present at the trial of Appia Nanu, who had accompanied his brother Appia Danqua in the last invasion of Fantee, and was ordered by the King, on his death, to take the command of the army, and prosecute the campaign. In the irritation of the moment he exclaimed before the royal messengers, that though the King did not prevent him from succeeding to the stool and the honours of his brother, he kept back all the rock gold which belonged to the inheritance, and desired to wear him out in the pursuit of the revolters, to prevent his claim and enjoyment of the property of his family. From this time he was very inactive, and became suspected of cowardice ; however, having succeeded in getting the head of one of the revolters he returned to Coomassie, where he was coolly received but not accused until the 8th of July. The witnesses were the messengers the King had sent to him, who had been concealed in a distant part of the frontier ever since that Appia Nanu, believing the

general report of their death, might be the more confounded when they burst upon him at the moment of his denial of the charge: he was deprived of his stool and the whole of his property, but permitted to retire with three wives and ten slaves. The King hearing the next day that he still loitered in the capital, exclaimed, that no proper man would bear so much shame before all the people rather than leave his home, and ordered only one wife to be left to him, whereupon Appia Nanu hung himself. The King considers that none but the basest spirits can endure life after severe disgrace.

The Moors celebrated the feast of Ramadan in this month: there was nothing curious in this ceremony. Men and women were dressed in their richest suits, and seated on large skins before their houses, for they occupy one street exclusively. They rose occasionally in small troops, made short circuits in different directions, saluted each other, and then sat down again. In the evening the superiors exchanged visits at their houses; the one visited always accompanied the other some distance along the street on his way, where they exchanged blessings and parted. The slaves who carried their small umbrellas over their heads, seemed thoroughly jaded bythis incessant parading.

The King regretted in one of his visits about this time that they were not more frequent; he said our conversation entertained him more than anything else, because it told him of so many things black men never heard of; but when he wished to see us on that account, his great men checked him and said it did not become him as a great King to want us, but that he should only send his compliments, see us, and make us wait a long time when he sent for us to the palace.

CHAPTER VII.

PROCEEDINGS AND INCIDENTS UNTIL THE COMPLETION OF THE MISSION AND ITS RETURN TO CAPE COAST CASTLE.

ON the 11th of September I received the Governor's reply to my letter of the 10th of August.

CAPE COAST CASTLE, *August 25th*, 1817.

T. E. BOWDICH, ESQ.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 10th instant. The boy and girl shall be disposed of under the protection of the Government here, agreeable to the King's wishes.

The messenger (Ocranameah) has grossly misrepresented to the King the reception he met with at Cape Coast; he was treated with the greatest civility during his stay, and on leaving expressed himself gratified by the attention which had been shown him.

For the King's satisfaction, I have subjoined a list of the articles I made him a present of;[1] the three first which I gave him, on taking leave, will, when produced,

[1] One piece of silk, 10 handkerchiefs of Dane, 1 umbrella, 4 gallons of rum, 20lbs. of pork, 1 basket of rice, Biscuit, 1 sheep.

convince him how much he has been deceived, and prove to him that his recommendation of the messenger was not unattended to.

The Buntooko war I consider a mere pretext for getting rid of the Resident; it cannot be the true motive: to oppose, however, any disinclination to the measure, either on the part of the King or his principal men, would be entirely useless; the aversion to it has no doubt originated in the latter, with whom, under the present order of things, the Resident would be very unpopular, consequently unsafe. The eager desire which the King has manifested for inquiring into every trivial occurrence, is another cause of its being objectionable. The residence of a British officer would afford him the opportunity not only of doing this, but of making demands which he might otherwise not have thought of. These and other circumstances, which were entirely unforeseen, have materially altered my opinion in regard to the Residency, which is certainly not so desirable as I before considered it. You will therefore, on your return, bring Mr. Hutchison with you.

I am not aware of any Ashantees having introduced themselves here but such as were duly authorized by the King; you will, however, inform him, that none will be attended to unless they bear his cane.

As Mr. Hutchison is to return, it will be a most important point that you bring down two of the King's sons for education, and I am very solicitous that you should accomplish this object if possible.

The Commenda palaver being terminated, there will be nothing to detain you longer at Ashantee. Your

returning by way of Warsaw will be desirable, and I hope the King will not object to your so doing.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
JOHN HOPE SMITH.

COOMASSIE, *Sept.* 16*th*, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ., *Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,—I did not receive your letter of the 25th of August until the 11th instant, four days after I had advised you of the execution of the treaty. I considered it my duty to acquaint you of every variation in the prospects of the Embassy, although, even when communicating the discouraging circumstances of my letter of the 10th ult., I could not abate my hopes, or allow doubt to sicken my exertions. I valued on the reflection, that I had not been heard before the King in vindication of the Residency, the motives of which I knew to have been grossly misrepresented by our natural enemies the Moors, to whose arts the suspicion of the natives have been suitably auxiliary. My confidence was justified by the favourable impression the King and the Government manifested, when the subject was publicly advocated, since which I have never heard of an objection to it: it has indeed become a favourite measure with the superior captains, who, as far as may be judged from the respect and deference with which they have treated us from that time, seem not only to have been conciliated, but won by the recent circumstances of the negotiation. The terms of the treaty, by exceeding your expectations, will com-

pensate for the accumulation of difficulties which have been opposed to us. We are taught to believe that no law has ever been enacted in this kingdom with equal solemnity, or an oath so serious been before submitted to by the King, or imposed on the captains. Had the treaty disappointed, instead of exceeded our expectations, I must have viewed it as inviolable, and submitted myself to your candour, which I would now, and justify myself by answering the reasonable apprehensions which have recently affected your opinion of the Residency, rather than by the plea that the treaty was executed before I received them.

If I had been convinced that it was dislike and not suspicion which actuated the opposition to the Residency, I should not only have considered it imprudent but derogatory to have persevered in the view; but sensible that it was the latter (from the evidence of the King's deportment, and the knowledge of the intrigue and calumny excited against us), I felt the greater anxiety for its accomplishment; since to have yielded to suspicion, without every labour to eradicate it, would have been to have excluded ourselves from the kingdom hereafter.

If the King had been actuated, individually, by the desire of detecting the frauds of his messengers, I should have viewed the measure as pernicious; but the Government itself having anxiously recommended it, for the sake of their own interest (Fort pay and purchases from the treasury being always divided amongst the superior captains), I considered it harmless; and not solely from the power of its advocates, but also from the impotence of the royal messengers in

state affairs, being generally attendants on the King, and therefore jealously watched by the other parts of the Government. This desire has only been addressed to me in two instances, both of which I think justified it; first, respecting the fort pay; it having been since proved and confessed, that out of sixty-two ounces paid at Christiansburg Castle in 1816 and 1817, the Ashantee Government has been defrauded of twenty-three ounces by the messenger; and secondly, respecting the goods purchased by Ocranameah, where the fraud could not escape notice. Such peculations have probably, in the first case, given rise to doubts of our honour; and in the latter, have certainly proved a prejudice to the trade. On the occasion of Ocranameah's baseness, I myself requested the King to allow me to address you for the particulars of his treatment; and if you consider the mischievous influence of the report, the fatality of the impression that the King's Embassy had been subjected to contempt, whilst we had been treated with generosity and respect, you will admit that the disproof was imperious on me: he has been disgraced, and owes his safety to my intercession. Nothing but the most decisive conduct can arrest villainy here. The reports of Adoo Bradie have been highly flattering. The King will certainly have a better opportunity of making demands from the residence of a British officer; neither can I lessen the probability further than by my opinion, which though only indulgent of the people in general, is certainly favourable of the honour of the King and the superior captains. The advantages and prospects of our preserving our footing by a Residency, have been too fully

suggested by your experience to require my dwelling on them.

I will proceed to acquaint you of the circumstances subsequent to my receipt of your letter, one of which had nearly been serious. After the settlement of the Commenda palaver, the King requested me to wait ten days, which were afterwards extended to fifteen, as you were advised in his letter of the 31st ult. This time expired on Saturday last, but the King said then that we must not go until Monday. Accordingly on that day, I delivered Mr. Hutchison written instructions (a copy of which I enclose), and sent several messages to the King to remind him of his promise. We were not sent for until six o'clock in the evening, when the King said he could not let me go then, nor before he had time to send me away properly. This I considered to be the mere affectation of state. I pleaded that your orders were binding, and that it was insulting to you, as well as dangerous to me, to prevent my respect of them now everything like business was settled. The King said he would only ask me to stop until Wednesday. I replied that if he would give me his hand and promise that I should go then I would wait. No, he could not, but he would promise me for the Monday following. I saw that yielding to this would subject me to an indefinite delay. I told the King that I should be obliged to go, though unwillingly, without his approbation, and that not only my duty but his promise justified me. I had only to ask him if he still wished me to leave Mr. Hutchison? All the reply I could get was that I might break the law if I thought proper. I told them the law would never be

broken by an English officer, but still, if they were sorry that they had sworn to the law, I would send for it and tear it in pieces before them; we did not make laws from fear. No, they liked the law and could not break it, but I might if I chose. I repeated my willingness to stay till Wednesday; the promise could only be given for the Monday; the King and the council retired abruptly. I followed them, told them I was obliged to be determined, and begged the King to show his respect for you, and the friendship he had condescended to profess for myself, by considering your orders. This was construed as indecision; and Monday, or when the King has time, was the reply. I thanked him formally for all his kindnesses, told him I must go, and retired. It was necessary, at least, to make the attempt, although it was then eight o'clock. I left all the luggage in the charge of Mr. Hutchison, except two portmanteaus, the sextant, and the box containing my papers. We had scarcely proceeded fifty yards, before the gong-gongs and drums were beat all around us, and we were attacked by a crowd of swords and muskets, headed by our house-master Aboïdwee, who in the first rush seized the luggage and the flag. I felt myself compelled to attempt to regain the flag; and the value of my papers, and the impolicy of being intimidated by the outrage, were also considerations. I begged the officers not to draw their swords till the last moment, and taking the muskets, the butt ends of which cleared our way to the luggage, we fastened on it, with the soldiers, artisans, and our servants, who supported us vigorously. The Ashantees did not attempt to fire, but attacked us only

with their heavy swords and large stones. We kept our ground nearly a quarter of an hour, though our belts and caps were torn away, and we frequently fell. At this time, Mr. Tedlie (who had regained his sword, which had been torn from his side) was stunned by a blow on the head, and as all were much bruised and some of the people cut, I contented myself with the recovery of the flag, the sextant, and the papers, and we retired slowly to the house, not expecting they would follow us; but they did so, with a fury which led me to believe they intended our destruction. We posted ourselves in the doorway, and I immediately despatched the canes by a back way to the King, to tell him we had not yet drawn our swords, but we must do so unless he rescued us immediately. The tumult did not allow expostulation, we had no alternative but to defend ourselves, which the narrow passage favoured. The captain, Aboïdwee, who was quite mad with fury and liquour, made a cut at me as I held him from me, which would have been fatal but for the presence of mind of one of the soldiers, through which it only grazed my face. We were soon rescued by the presence of Adoocee, the chief linguist, and Yokokroko, the King's chamberlain, with their retinues. Nothing could exceed their servility, they offered to swear the King was not privy to the outrage, ordered Aboïdwee before them, and threatened him with the loss of his head. I told them I knew the King's control, and was not to be treated as a fool; he had forcibly detained us as prisoners, and must take the consequences; I should say no more. They continued their professions and entreaties upwards of an hour, and did

all they could by their menaces to Aboïdwee, and their deference to the evidence of our people, to convince me of their discountenance of the outrage. I divided the people into watches for the night.

By daylight the next morning all our luggage was returned; I refused to receive it. Yokokroko and Adoo Quamina then sent to say they waited below until we had done breakfast; a long palaver succeeded, of the same tenour as that of the preceding night. About eleven o'clock the linguists Adoocee, Otee, and Quancum, Yokokroko, and a crowd of captains came from the King with a present of twenty ackies, two flasks of liquour, and a large hog. I asked them if they came to put more shame on my face by bribing me to settle the great palaver they had made the night before with the King of England. They flattered and menaced by turns to make me take it, and urged that to refuse the King's present was to declare war. I persisted in refusing everything short of an interview with the King. The Cape Coast messengers, impelled by their apprehensions and their avarice, had the temerity to declare at this moment that you had sent them as a check upon me, and that they knew I was not doing as you wished in talking so to the King, and that you would make a palaver with me for not waiting the King's pleasure. It was necessary to annihilate the impression of such language immediately: I deprived them of their canes, and threatened to put them in irons. The King not longer after sent his eunuch and followers to conduct us to the palace, where he had assembled the superior captains. We went in plain clothes, alleging that we dared not wear

our uniforms as prisoners. The King said I must not say that; he was my good friend, and would do me right; he did not think I would have tried to go without his leave, and never meant his people to fight with us; he would give me the heads of all those who led them on, and beg me himself for the rest, as I begged him for Quamina Bootaqua; he never begged anybody before; he did not send the gold as I thought, he sent it to pay for anything the people had spoiled, and meant to do us right all the same; it would break his heart if the King of England heard he had used his officers ill, and if I liked him I must settle the palaver easy.

Of course I would not hear of any heads being cut off, though they all pressed it repeatedly, and doubtless would not have regarded sacrificing a few inferior captains to varnish their allegation; yet, I must declare, it is my firm opinion, and it is supported by the evidence of our private friends, that the King and his principal men merely intended Aboïdwee to stop us, by placing his numbers before us and pleading the King's orders, not dreaming of any outrage, or that the impetuosity of this man, irritated by the loss of his retainer at Cape Coast,[2] would hurry him to order his soldiers to assault us: he has not an atom of influence; but the King selected him as a near relative of his own, to succeed to Bakkee's stool, to which 1700 men are attached: the King repeatedly offered me his head. To resume, the King requested us to drink with him and then to shake hands; begged us to resume our uniforms, and ordered his own people to attend us at

[2] The man who hung himself.

our house. I renewed the subject of our departure. The King said this was a bad week, and he did not like us to go in it; he would thank me very much to stay till Monday, and then he could get a proper present ready. Sunday, too, was the Adaï custom, and then I must put Mr. Hutchison's hand in Adoocee's, and Adoocee place it in his, and he would promise to take proper care of him before all the captains. Odumata and Adoocee came forward to give me their hands, as a pledge of their responsibility. I said I could receive no one's hand but the King's on such an occasion, but I ordered Quashie Apaintree to do so, and it was sworn to. The King then said Adoocee had told him the Cape Coast messengers had tried to put shame on my face—he was very angry with them —they ought to know God made white man's head better than black man's, and they must come before him and put my foot on their heads. I told him I could not let any one do so, but I sent for their canes and entrusted them to them again, with a suitable reprimand. The King then begged me to receive his present, which I did, giving the people the hog and liquor; they had received another on the Friday before, which the King sent me, with thirty-nine yams.

I have observed that the Government's anxiety for the force of the Treaty, and for the Residency, has heightened in proportion to the indifference I have affected. I consider the affair of yesterday to have perfected the impression of our spirit. I certainly would not think of leaving any but an officer of the most considerate conduct as a Resident, and I believe Mr. Hutchison, by tempering his spirit with judgment,

may safely realize the objects of the situation; if, however, on my return you consider I have left him in a precarious situation, I volunteer my services to replace him, and deliberately to retire the Residency.

It occurs to me the Amissa palaver may possibly be the design of this interval, if it should you may rely on my remaining resolute on the subject.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) T. Edward Bowdich.

Coomassie, *September*, 1817.

To William Hutchison, *Esquire, British Resident.*

Sir,—I am directed by the Governor-in-Chief to leave you written instructions for your future government.

The conviction of the honour and justice of our public negotiations having procured us a footing in opposition to the arts which have been practised upon the suspicion of the natives, your conduct is looked to with confidence to support it, by originating an opinion of our moral character, equally auspicious to the benevolent views of the British Government. The simplicity of our religion tolerating the calumny of the Moors, that we are destitute of any, you will have the satisfaction of perfecting the confutation by a regular retirement to its duties, and by the practice of that benevolence and forbearance, equally congenial to the policy prescribed to us.

It would be premature, as well as dangerous, to direct any other than the tacit reproof of your own conduct and sentiments, to the cruelties consecrated by the superstitions of the Ashantees; you must be content to avoid

the countenance of them by your presence, by adhering to the plea of the repugnance of your religion. This conduct, associated with a humanity always inclining you to induce mercy, whenever the offence or prudence may admit of an interference, will propitiate your own wishes, and the expectations of the Government.

The friendship and respect which the King and the superior captains have manifested, will not only be preserved but strengthened, by a dignified deportment and a considerate use of the private intercourset hese feelings have established; and you will cultivate the frequent opportunities of instilling into their minds, that education originated the pre-eminence of Europeans; and that peace is most auspicious to the greatness of a nation, directing all its powers to commerce and the arts, and thereby founding its superior comfort, prosperity, and embellishment. The power and resources of your own country should be quoted to illustrate this truth; and you will impress that it is the experience of it, which has imposed the benevolent anxiety of the British Government to improve the condition of the people of Africa through the legitimate medium of commerce. This impression you will extend, deliberately, to the visitors from other kingdoms, particularly to those from the Sarem and Mallowa countries.

In encouraging the trade with the coast, your measures must disprove any view but that of a fair competition; and your vigilance of the British interests must be distinct from anything like jealousy, suspicion, or intermeddling: you will act as the advocate of the views of Europe, but not allow any interference to be

imposed on you without the sanction of the Governor-in-Chief, whose letters will be exclusively attended to, and to whom you will candidly communicate any circumstance or reflection affecting our new connexion.

You will repress rather than encourage the disposition of the King and the Council to detect imposition through your assistance, by confining your justifications as much as possible to public transactions; for although the Government is gratified by it, it may tend to make the Residency unpopular.

I enclose you a copy of the Treaty, and particularly direct your attention to the fourth article, which authorizes you to submit to everything like a mediation, separable from responsibility, to the discussion of the Governor-in-Chief, for the sake of peace and humanity; but you will do this, invariably, with diffidence; without betraying any sanguine expectations.

You will be more sensible to insult than injury; and the most politic conduct will be, to declare that the British Government exacts from all its officers, on pain of disgrace, a firm repulse of the former; and that they dare not admit the influence of their private feelings as in the latter case.

I leave you in possession of the esteem of the King and the friendship of the superior captains, and with everything favourable to the objects of the Residency; but should any caprice in the Government make you invidious to anything like a party, or diminish their respect, you will immediately address the Governor-in-Chief, who will order your presence at Head Quarters. Another important consideration will be your health; also the character of the captain who may be left in

charge of the capital, should the King go himself to the Buntooko war. Your personal safety is out of the question at present, but should the least doubt arise in your own mind hereafter, you must consult the Governor's solicitude rather than your own spirit.

You see the necessity of keeping in with the Moors; the flattering their intelligence is most conducive to this, and also elicits valuable information.

I shall afford you a perusal of the despatch of the Committee, and the instructions of the Governor-in-Chief, to perfect the present.

I have directed Mr. Tedlie to leave you a supply of medicines, and you will take charge of the Resident's flag.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) T. Edward Bowdich.

Baba had a great number of Arabic manuscripts; I have preserved a leaf finely illuminated. Apokoo astonished us by offering to lend us some books to read; he showed us two French volumes on Geography, a Dutch Bible, a volume of the *Spectator*, and a "Dissuasion from Popery, 1620." It was gratifying to recollect that this chief, now become so much attached to us, was the man mentioned in our early despatches as snatching Mr. Tedlie's sword from him on the declaration of war, to make his oath against us the more inveterate. Telling the King one day that Mr. Hutchison's and Mr. Tedlie's countries, Scotland and Ireland, were formerly distinct from mine, he begged directly to hear specimens of the different languages,

and was reluctantly persuaded that it was the policy of England to get rid of all national distinctions between her subjects. Apokoo was very fond of scribbling, and with a smile frequently begged to know what he had written. They could not comprehend how any hieroglyphic that was not a picture could express an object. My name, said the King, is not like me. He was rather uneasy at my sketching; the Moors, he hinted, had insinuated that I could place a spell on the buildings I drew. I told him, without drawings, the people in England could not be convinced that I had visited him; he appeared satisfied, and begged to be drawn handsome.

There are only four direct descendants now living of the noble families which accompanied the emigration of Saï Tootoo, the founder of the Ashantee monarchy; none of them are wealthy, and Assaphi, who is one, is a beggar wandering in the bush, having been disgraced from the highest favour for the following fraud. An old linguist of the former King's (Saï Quamina) having died at a distant croom, the King, according to custom, sent Assaphi with four periguins of gold, and a quantity of expensive cloths and mats to bury him; Assaphi kept the gold, and substituted inferior cloths of his own. The wife urged the great and zealous services of her husband to Saï Quamina, and her indignation at such a mean acknowledgment as the King had sent. Assaphi returned, reported her gratitude, and that everything had been handsomely done to the credit of the King. The wife privately dug up the cloths buried with the corpse, and suspecting the fraud, secretly conveyed them to the King with a full account. The

King sent for Assaphi, and again inquiring the particulars, with seeming indifference, suddenly required him to swear to the truth, which he advanced to do, when the King said "No! you must not swear;" and the woman was immediately discovered to him with all the cloths. He then confessed the particulars, was stripped of everything, and is now the more despised for not killing himself; and the King could not put him to death, as the direct descendant of one of Saï Tootoo's peers. Part of the King's reproach to him was curious: "My brother's linguist did him great good, so when he and my brother, who now live with God, make God recollect all, and tell him the shame you put on him for me in so burying him, God will kill me."

A man and a woman were beheaded on the 17th of this month for an intrigue, the woman was very handsome, and the wife of a captain: on their being suspected, both were ordered to drink doom, which choking them, they were immediately executed. The King's sister sent for Mr. Tedlie to go and see her: he inquired into her complaint and recommended some medicine, which she very thankfully agreed to take; he prepared some for her, and went to give her the proper directions, upon which she handed the cup to her husband, who beginning to swallow it very fast, Mr. Tedlie stopped him, and said he had only prepared sufficient for one person; the lady replied, "Let him drink this to-day, and I can have more to-morrow;" he told her that he had very little medicine, and could not afford to give it to people that were in good health; she did not appear pleased with this reasoning. A man of Assiminia, who had received medicine and

advice from Mr. Tedlie on our march up, sent him a third present about this time, of fruit, vegetables, and wild deer, with the account that he was quite well.

Apokoo inquired very anxiously why the King of England had not sent one of his sons with the presents to the King of Ashantee. He said he had himself conquered five nations during the present and the preceding reign, and he named twenty-one nations which now paid tribute to Ashantee; but he added, there were three countries which would not, two eastward, and one to the north-west; each of those eastward had defeated the Ashantees; the one north-westward, on the King sending for tribute, desired that he would come and take it, and afterwards entirely destroyed an Ashantee army.

AKROFROOM, *Sept. 26th*, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, *Esq., Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,—The King only availed himself of our detention to introduce us to fresh ceremonies, and to augment the testimonies of his friendship. The Amissa palaver was not attempted, and nothing like design has disclosed itself.

On the Monday there was a general assembly of the caboceers and captains, the King of Dwabin being present with his linguists, also several Dagwumba caboceers, and the Moorish dignitaries. The King announced the execution of the Treaty by himself and the deputies, and impressed in a long speech through his linguists, that he would visit the least offence

against it with the greatest severity. I was then requested to read it for the last time, and the King's duplicate was executed in a similar manner.

In the evening, the King gave us our last audience before all his superior captains: a letter was dictated, which I shall present to you on my arrival; and Adoocee, the chief linguist, was formally deputed to receive Mr. Hutchison's hand from me and to place it in the King's, who received it with a solemn avowal of his responsibility for the charge. The linguist then presented from the King,

To the Government, four boys for education.

To the British Museum, six specimens of the goldsmith's work. (I had interested the King by my account of this national repository.)

To the Governor-in-Chief, one boy, one girl, to be brought up in his service.

To Mr. Bowdich, one boy, one girl, and 2 oz. 6 ac. of gold.

Mr. Tedlie, one boy, and 1 oz. 4 ac. of gold.
Accra linguist, one cloth . . 10 ditto.
Cape Coast linguists, two cloths, 10 ditto.
De Graaff's messenger . . . 10 ditto.
The officers' servants . . . . 10 ditto.
The soldiers . . . . . 10 ditto.

I afterwards received a Sarem cloth and some trifles as a further dash from Apokoo; one sheep, &c., &c., from Baba the chief of the Moors; and fifteen ackies of gold from the King's linguists, with their acknowledgments of my firmness during the negotiation.

The King having a palaver at present with the Warsaws, objected so strongly to our returning through

their territory, that after one or two attempts to overrule his apprehensions, I found it would be imprudent to persevere in the wish, although the disappointment was great; the King assured me the Warsaw path was two days longer, and that he will not spare any labour on that of Assin directly after the war. I had permission to go some miles on the Warsaw path, to convince myself of its neglected condition.

The King's favourite son (a child about five years old), whom he had dressed in our uniform for the occasion, was so alarmed at the idea of being given over to us, that the King's feelings obliged him to promise me that he would send the children after me; he is too jealous of the advantages to allow those of his great men to participate, until his own family are first distinguished by them.

The King supplied me with bearers, and pressed me to take six hammock-men in case of sickness; he would not hear of pay for any, and persisted in appointing one of his captains to take care of us. He yielded the point of an escort reluctantly, which I had combated from the consideration of the expense of a present to such a number. The King requested me on taking leave to wait a short time until his captains had distributed the powder to salute us on our departure, and it being then dark, to proceed no farther than a small croom just beyond the marsh, where the people should join us in the morning. The King and his captains were seated by torchlight with all their insignia without the palace, and we quitted the capital, preceded by the King's banners, discharges of musketry, and every flattering distinction that could be thought of.

The King has provided one of the best houses for Mr. Hutchison, very superior to any we could have raised at so short a notice, and has anticipated everything to make him comfortable and respected; nothing could be more considerate or kind than his speech to him on my taking leave.

A messenger of the King of Dwabin's accompanies me for a suit of our uniform for the King's wear, which I could not refuse.

I am, &c., &c.,
(Signed) T. Edward Bowdich.

Coomassie, *September* 22*nd*, 1817.

Saï Tootoo Quamina, *King of Ashantee, &c., to* John Hope Smith, *Esquire, Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

Sir,—We are from this time forth good friends, and I shall send all the trade I can to Cape Coast Castle, and I hope that you will by-and-by have confidence in my word.

I beg you will send my best compliments to the King of England, and accept them yourself in proof of my satisfaction of the purposes of the Embassy and its happy termination.

You will call all the Fantee caboceers before you, and impress the importance of the Treaty, and exact their respect of it as I have from all my great men and caboceers.

I hope you will always act towards me as a friend, and I shall always be ready to protect and support the British interests.

I wish you health and happiness, and all my captains send their best compliments to you.

I am, Sir,

Your sincere friend,

The mark ⋈ of Saï Tootoo Quamina.

Present,

W. Hutchison.

Henry Tedlie.

I will thank you to impress on the King of England that I have sworn not to renew the war with the Fantees out of respect to him, and I shall consider them as his people. I hope, therefore, he will in turn consider if he cannot renew the slave trade, which will be good for me.

I hope the King of England will now let all foreign vessels come to the Coast to trade, and you must say that the path is now clear to do as much English trade as your supplies will allow.

The following letter was sent after me to Doompassie:—

Coomassie, 23*rd September*, 1817.

John Hope Smith, *Esquire, Governor-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

Sir,—The King of Ashantee desires me to request you will write to all the Governors of English forts on the African Coast, to order the caboceers of each town to send a proper person to Cape Coast, and that you will add one messenger yourself, that they may all proceed to Coomassie to take the King's fetish in his presence, that none may plead ignorance of the Treaty concluded between his Majesty and the British nation.

The King wishes me to express that he is fully satisfied with the objects of the mission, and that the Treaty may be read by me to all the Fantee deputies you may send for that purpose.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) W. Hutchison.

My last private letters from Cape Coast Castle had imposed the most painful anxiety; the two lives naturally beyond all others the dearest to me, were imminently endangered by the seasoning illness of the country; one yielded to it before I could arrive, yet, under all the impatience of my affliction, I must confess, when I took the King's hand for the last time, when I reflected on the benevolence, the solicitude, and the generosity I had experienced whilst my life was in his hands, affected by the most untoward and irritating political circumstances, by the aggravated suspicions of his chiefs, and by the poisonous jealousy of the Moors, there was a painful gratification in the retrospect, which blended the wish to linger another hour in listening to acknowledgments of esteem and obligation, more affecting than flattering, and enhanced by the consoling reflection, that they were the natural emotions of one of those monarchs we are pleased to call barbarians. Night was coming on, but as I had so positively declared before the King and his council, on the former occasion, that nothing should deter me from keeping my word in quitting Coomassie on this day, it would not do to delay even until the morning. A strict observance of your word is everything in the eye of a

Negro. The King said, he would not beg me to stay, as I had declared I dared not; he would only ask me to go no farther than Ogogoo that night, and his people should join me early in the morning. Our exit was a brilliant scene, from the reflection of the glittering ornaments of the King and his captains by the torches; they were seated in a deep and long line, without the palace, accompanied by their retinues; all their bands burst forth together, as we saluted the King in passing, and we were enveloped in the smoke of the musketry. The darkness of the forest was an instantaneous and awful contrast, and the howlings and screeches of the wild beasts, startled us as we groped our way, as if we had never heard them before. The torches provided for our protection against them were extinguished in crossing the marsh, which had swollen to between four and five feet deep, and the descent to it from Coomassie was rocky and abrupt. The linguists and soldiers lost themselves in the forest, and did not arrive at Ogogoo until long after Mr. Tedlie and myself. The inhabitants were asleep, but they rose cheerfully, cleared the best house for us, and made fires. The next morning I received the dash of gold from the King's linguists, in a Mallowa bag, with a long compliment; the conclusion of which was, that I must always be ready to use the same spirit and address, in talking a palaver for the King of Ashantee, as I had shown in talking that of my own King. This testimony of their good feeling and esteem, which they could not avow whilst we were political antagonists, was grateful.

Marching through Sarrasoo, where we were liberally refreshed with palm wine, we halted in the evening at

Assiminia. We were received with great hospitality by the principal man, who provided us with excellent lodging, to his own inconvenience, and presented us with some fowls. The path was almost a continued bog, for the rainy season had set in violently. The next day we marched through Dadasey to Doompassie, and occupied our former comfortable dwelling. One party spent the night in the woods. Thursday morning, the 6th, we had a short but most fatiguing march over the mountains dividing the frontiers, to Moisee, the first Assin town. The difficulty of procuring provisions until the people returned from the plantations, detained us in Moisee until four o'clock in the evening. As the stage from Doompassie had been short (although fatiguing), I determined to proceed to Akrofroom, as we should gain a day by it. The Ashantees remonstrated, knowing the swollen state of the several small rivers, and the aggravated difficulties of the path from the heavy rain; but I was so apprehensive of being detained, by their pleading their superstitious observance of good and bad days for travelling, that I was afraid of seeming to yield to them, lest it might encourage the disposition. I recommended them to go back, and started without them, but they were soon at my heels, declaring they should lose their heads if they quitted us. Mr. Tedlie, myself, a soldier, and the Ashantee next in authority under the captain, outwalked the rest of the party, and found ourselves out of their hearing when it grew dark. We lost some time in trying to make torches to keep off the beasts, and to direct us in the right track, for we were walking through a continued bog, and had long before lost our shoes. A violent tornado ushered

in the night, we could not hear each other holloa, and were soon separated ; luckily I found I had one person left with me (the Ashantee) who, after I had groped him out, tying his cloth tight round his middle, gave me the other end, and thus plunged along, pulling me after him, through bogs and rivers, exactly like an owl tied to a duck in a pond. The thunder, the darkness, and the howlings of the wild beasts were awful, but the loud and continuing crash of a large tree, which fell very near us during the storm, was even more so to my ear. The Ashantee had dragged me along, or rather through, in this manner until I judged it to be midnight, when, quite exhausted, with the remnants of my clothes scarcely hanging together, I let go his cloth, and falling on the ground, was asleep before I could call out to him. I was awoke, by this faithful guide, who had felt me out, and seated me on the trunk of a tree, with my head resting on his shoulder ; he gave me to understand I must die if I sat there, and we pursued the duck and owl method once more. In an hour we forded the last river, which had swollen considerably above my chin, and spread to a great width. This last labour I considered final, and my drowsiness became so fascinating, that it seemed to beguile me of every painful thought and apprehension, and the yielding to it was an exquisite, though momentary pleasure. I presume I must have slept above an hour, lifted by this humane man from the bank of the river to a drier corner of the forest, more impervious to the torrents of rain; when, being awoke, I was surprised to see him with a companion and a torch ; he took me on his back, and in about three quarters of an hour we reached

Akrofroom. This man knew I carried about me several ounces of gold, for the subsistence of the people, not trusting to our luggage, which we could not reckon on in such a season and journey. Exhausted and insensible, my life was in his hands, and infested as the forest was with wild beasts, he might after such a night, without suspicion, have reported me as destroyed by them; this had occurred to me and was an uneasy feeling as long as my torpor left me any. It was about two o'clock in the morning, and the inhabitants of Akrofroom were almost all asleep, for it was too rude a night for Negro revelry; however, I was directly carried to a dry and clean apartment, furnished with a brass pan full of water to wash in, some fruits and palm wine, an excellent bed of mats and cushions, and an abundance of country cloths to wrap around me, for I was all but naked. After I had washed, I rolled myself up in the cloths, one after the other, until I became a gigantic size, and by a profuse perspiration escaped any other ill than a slight fever. A soldier came up about mid-day, and gave me some hopes of seeing Mr. Tedlie again, who arrived soon afterwards, having left his companions in a bog, waiting until he sent them assistance from the town. Our gratification was mutual, for the only trace he had had of me was by no means an encouraging one; my servant meeting an Ashantee in the forest with fragments of my clothes, which he persisted he had not taken from any person, but picked up on his way. Mr. Tedlie (whose feet were cut and bruised much more than mine, and whose wretched plight made him envy the African toga I had assumed) after we had separated, and the storm had drowned our mutual holloaings, the

howlings of the wild beasts meeting his ears on all sides, had just determined to roost in a tree for the night, when an Ashantee appeared with a torch, and conducted him out of the track to the remains of a shed, where four or five of the people had before strayed and settled themselves. Another party arrived at Akrofroom about four o'clock, and the last, with the Cape Coast linguist and the corporal, not until sunset; they had lost the track altogether, and spent the whole day, as well as the previous night, in the woods. We made an excellent duck soup, our grace to which was, "What a luxury to poor Mungo Park!" the name recalled sufferings which made us laugh at our own as mere adventures.

On Saturday the 8th we marched to Asharamang. Here we found great difficulties in getting provisions until the Ashantees came up, for Quamina Bwa's knavery had been ascribed to us; and here, panyaring all we required, he had not given the inhabitants a tokoo of the gold. At length we were well supplied and comfortably lodged. The next day we marched through Kickiwherree to Prasoo, where we occupied a good house, and an Ashantee captain proceeding on an embassy, dashed us a supply of fowls and yams. We crossed the Boosempra early the next morning, and thence began to leave the rains behind us. Persevering in making but one journey of the distances which occupied us two and three days going up, we pressed forward, passing by our former bivouacs in the woods, scarcely distinguishable, until we reached the site of Accomfodey, for only one hut now remained; the wretched inhabitants having deserted it in terror of the Ashantees. The solitary Fantee who occupied it, had the address to

assure me, that I should find much better lodging at Ancomassa, where we recollected to have left some comfortable huts going up, and we resolved to try another stage, and were recompensed by finding scarcely a wreck of the place, and some tattered sheds only instead of the sound roof we had quitted. We proceeded early the next morning, passed Foosou, which was entirely deserted, and marched until we found ourselves at sunset on the banks of the Aniabirrim. The people were all behind, and the Ashantees coming up about an hour afterwards, informed us they had settled themselves for the night about two hours' walk distant. Unfortunately we had no flint, and after fasting all day, we had the mortification of losing our supper merely for want of a fire; the wood was all so wet that friction had no effect on it, we could find no shelter, and a heavy rain set in as it grew dark; fatigue luckily beguiled us of cold and hunger, and of our apprehensions of a visit from the beasts, who were howling about the banks of their watering place. I wrapped myself up in the Inta cloth Apokoo had giveu me, and wet as the ground was, I never slept better. Hence the forest visibly declined in height towards the coast. We pressed on by daylight, found some excellent guavas to allay our hunger, and reaching Mansue, made a good soup of our fowls, peppers growing luxuriantly all around us. We waited until we heard of the people behind us, and then proceeded; about five in the evening I reached Cottacoomacasa, with the Dwabin messenger only. The place was deserted, and a body of Ashantee traders had occupied the remaining shed. I would not disturb them, but waiting until sunset

for Mr. Tedlie, I left him a supply of guavas, and proceeded to Payntree. There was a charm in the name of that place, being but one journey from the sea, superior to the recollection of the former night's adventure. It was a brilliant night, and the dark gloom and hollow echoes of the long vistas of the forest, formed a fine contrast to the extensive areas (sites of large Fantee crooms destroyed by the Ashantees) into which we frequently emerged. The wild music and cheerful revelry of the inhabitants of Payntree stole upon my ear, and raised the tone of my spirits in proportion as the sounds strengthened.

A loud and continued shout warned me that I was announced; torches and music instantly encircled me, and I was conducted to old Payntree's residence, who had built himself a new house somewhat in the Ashantee fashion. An excellent bed was prepared for me of an accumulation of mats and country cloths, and a famous supper of soups, stews, fruit, and palm wine. Quamina Bootaqua paid his respects, and old Payntree, Amooney King of Annamaboe, and two or three other caboceers, unknown to me, made a long adulatory speech, complimenting my ability, bewailing my hardships, and magnifying their obligations. I was requested to seat myself on old Payntree's state stool, whilst they stood around me, and he begged me to listen to an air composed by his band on the occasion of the embassy, and its successful termination; "All would now be well, and Fantee revive and flourish." I sat up till midnight, vainly expecting Mr. Tedlie and the soldiers; they awoke me by their arrival before sunrise; they had passed the night in a sound hut, on the path,

which from the want of a torch had escaped my notice.

Hearing, as I expected, that there was a path from Payntree to Cape Coast Castle, avoiding Annamaboe (whence the mission had departed), I determined to explore it, and Payntree furnished me with a guide. The country was beautifully diversified with hill and dale, but the soil was generally lighter and more gravelly than that between Annamaboe and Payntree. We passed through several groves of guava trees, and all the other tropical fruits abounded. Occasionally there were small plantations of Guinea corn, where a few wretched Fantees still lurked in the ruins of the crooms the Ashantees had destroyed. We passed through eleven which had been considerable, and now presented but a few mud-houses scattered over extensive sites. Their names were Assequah, Daöoramong, Amparoo, Taächoo, Coorikirraboo, Perridjoo, Abikarrampa, Aquoitee, Miensa, and Amosima. The only water was near Amparoo; it was a large pond nearly two miles in circumference, and sixty yards broad, impregnated with vegetable matter. After travelling fifteen miles, we climbed some very steep and rocky hills, apparently of iron stone, and descended into a flat country, continuing until a small rising about two miles from Cape Coast Castle (which I judged to be twenty miles from Payntree by this interior path) opened the sea to our view; as delightful to our sight as land would have been after a prolonged and perilous voyage. The shouts and greetings of the natives were a grateful introduction to the more congenial congratulations of our countrymen.

PART II.

HISTORY.

TO speak of the death of a former King, the Ashantees imagine to affect the life of the present equally with inquiring who would be his successor; and superstition and policy strengthening this impression, it is made capital by the law to converse either of the one or the other. The inability of the natives to compute time, and the comparatively recent establishment of the Moors, may be pleaded as additional apologies for the imperfect history I have collected.

According to a common tradition, which I never heard contradicted but once, the Ashantees emigrated from a country nearer the water-side, and subjecting the western Intas, and two lesser powers, founded the present kingdom. These people being comparatively advanced in several arts, the Ashantees necessarily adopted a portion of their language with the various novelties; which probably created the limited radical difference between their language and that of the Fantees; for I could not find, after taking the greatest pains, more than 200 words unknown to the latter. The weights of the Inta country, in particular, were adopted with their names, by the conquerors, without the least alteration.

The tradition, scanty in itself, is very cautiously adverted to, the Government politically undermining every monument which perpetuates their intrusion, or records the distinct origins of their subjects: but, from the little I could collect, it appeared to have been an emigration of numerous enterprising or discontented families, to whom the parent state afterwards became subject. I am inclined to think (the account of their coming from a country nearer the sea being too general for conjecture to revolt from) that they emigrated from the eastward of south, where the territory admitted to be Ashantee Proper is remote, compared with its extent southward, or westward of south, and the former consequence of Doompassie, and the towns eastward of it, support this: yet the very few natives who pretended to any opinion on the subject, had an impression that their ancestors emigrated from the neighbourhood of a small river, Ainshue, behind Winnebah: a croom called Coomadie is to be found there, but there is nothing else to countenance the report.

The Ashantee, Fantee, Warsaw, Akim, Assin, and Aquapim languages are indisputably dialects of the same root; their identity is even more striking than that of the dialects of the ancient Greek. Now the Fantees and Warsaws both cherish a tradition, which exists also in many Ahanta families, that they were pressed from the interior to the waterside by the successful ambition of a remote power; whence it may be concluded, that the Ashantee emigration we are now considering, was posterior to a more important movement of the whole people, corresponding with that of their neighbours. I will not dilate upon this secondary subject by referring to internal evidence; there is nothing to recompense either the investigation or the perusal.

One curious evidence, however, may be added of the former identity of the Ashantee, Warsaw, Fantee, Akim, Assin, Aquamboe, and part of the Ahanta nations; which is

a tradition that the whole of these people were originally comprehended in twelve tribes or families; the Aquonna Abrootoo, Abbradi, Essonna, Annŏna, Yoko, Intchwa, Abadie, Appiadie, Tchweedam, Agoona, and Doomina; in which they class themselves still, without any regard to national distinction. For instance, Ashantees, Warsaws, Akims, Ahantas, or men of any of the nations before mentioned, will severally declare that they belong to the Annŏna family; other individuals of the different countries, that they are of the Tchweedam family; and when this is announced on meeting, they salute each other as brothers. The King of Ashantee is of the Annŏna family, so was our Accra and one of the Fantee linguists; Amanquateä is of the Essonna family. The Aquonna, Essonna, Intchwa, and Tchweedam, are the four patriarchal families, and preside over the intermediate ones, which are considered as the younger branches. I have taken some pains to acquire the etymology of these words, but with imperfect success; it requires much labour and patience, both to make a native comprehend, and to be comprehended by him. Quonna is a buffalo, an animal forbade to be eaten by that family. Abrootoo signifies a corn stalk, and Abbradi a plantain. Annŏna is a parrot, but it is also said to be a characteristic of forbearance and patience. Esso is a bush cat, forbidden food to that family. Yoko is the red earth used to paint the lower parts of the houses in the interior. Intchwa is a dog, much relished by native epicures, and therefore a serious privation. Appiadie signifies a servant race. Etchwee is a panther, frequently eaten in the interior, and therefore not unnecessarily forbidden. Agoona signifies a place where palm oil is collected. These are all the etymologies in which the natives agree. Regarding these families as primæval institutions, I leave the subject to the conjectures of others, merely submitting that the four patriarchal families, the buffalo, the bush cat,

the panther, and the dog, appear to record the first race of men living on hunting; the dog family, probably, first training that animal to assist in the chase. The introduction of planting and agriculture seems marked in the age of their immediate descendants, the corn stalk and plantain branches. The origin and improvement of architecture in the red earth; and of commerce, probably, in the palm oil; indeed, the natives have included the Portuguese, the first foreign traders they knew in that family, alleging that their long and more intimate intercourse with the blacks has made the present race a mixture of the African and Portuguese. The servant race reminds us of the curse of Canaan. This resembles a Jewish institution, but the people of Accra alone practise circumcision, and they speak a language, as will be shown, radically distinct, yet not to be assimilated to the Intā, to which nation they are referred by the Fantees, merely because it is the nearest which practises circumcision. Accra is a European corruption of the word Inkran, which means an ant, and they say the name was either given or assumed on account of their numbers; this must have been before their wars with the Aquamboes.

When Adokoo, chief of the Braffoes, a Fantee nation, consulted the venerable fetish men of the sanctuary, near Sooprooroo, on the Ashantee war, they answered that nothing could be more offensive to the fetish than the Fantees preventing the peaceable intercourse of their inland neighbours with the water-side, because they were formerly all one family.

The conduct of the later emigration of the Ashantees is ascribed to Saï Tootoo, who, assisted by other leading men of the party, and encouraged by superstitious omens, founded Coomassie, and was presented with the stool, or made King, from his superior qualifications. This account is supported by the mixed nature of the government, founded on equality

and obligation, and the existence of a law, exempting the direct descendants of any of Saï Tootoo's peers and assistants (in whom the Aristocracy originated) from capital punishment.

The Dwabin monarchy is said to have been founded at the same time by Boitinnë, who was of the same family as Saï Tootoo, being the sons of sisters. Boitinnë and his party took possession of Dwabin, the largest of the aboriginal towns (leaving Saï Tootoo to build Coomassie), whence it seems his followers were the more powerful; indeed, I have heard it confessed by a few Ashantees, that Dwabin had formerly the pre-eminence, though they have always been firm allies in war, and equal sharers in spoil and conquest. This common interest, preserved uninterrupted more than a century by two rising powers close to each other, with the view of a more rapid aggrandizement, and their firm discretion in making many serious disagreements subservient to the policy, is one of the few circumstances worth considering in a history composed of wars and successions. I do not think there is such an instance in our heptarchy, nor do I recollect any other in history, but that of Chalcis and Eretria.

Bakkee, who died, as I have related,[1] about a year ago, was the son of Saï Apokoo, the second king, and an infant at the breast at the time of his father's death; he was a very old man when he incurred the present King's displeasure, which supports the report of the Moors, that the kingdom has been founded about 110 years. Bosman and Barbot mention the Ashantees, as just heard of by Europeans, about the year 1700, which confirms this account. The anxiety of the Ashantee Government for daily records immediately on the establishment of the Moors, who were only visitors until the present reign, acknowledges the perplexities and dificiencies

[1] See Diary.

of their early history too candidly to leave any encouragement to the researches of strangers. Records beyond half a century are not to be found in the archives either of Cape Coast or Christiansburg Castles, so that the chronology can only be founded on that of the Moors, and circumstances.

The Ashantee Government concentred the mass of its original force, and making the chiefs resident in Coomassie and the few large towns they built in its neighbourhood with titular dignities, conciliated those whom they subdued by continuing them in their governments, and checked them by exacting their frequent attendance at festivals politically instituted. Military command seems to have been the sole prerogative of Saï Tootoo ; his judicial and legislative power being controlled by the chiefs or aristocracy much more than at present, who, as in the Teutonic governments, directed the common business of the state, only consulting a general assembly on extraordinary occasions.

Saï Tootoo defeated the Akims and Assins, subjected the Tufel country, and subdued many small states in the neighbourhood. He also conquered Dankara, the king of which, Intim Dakarey, was so considerable a trader in slaves, that the Dutch Governor-General paid him a monthly note from his own purse, and assisted him with two or three small cannons and a few Europeans on the eve of the Ashantee invasion : the former are now placed as trophies in Coomassie, at the top of the street in which the mission was quartered. Booroom was subjugated soon after.

Saï Tootoo did not live to see all the streets of Coomassie completed, for war being declared against Atoä, a district betweem Akim and Assin, he invaded that country. The chief of the Atoas, unable to face such a power, dexterously insinuated his small force through the forest, until he reached the rear of the Ashantee army, which the King was following leisurely with a guard of a few hundred men, all of whom

were destroyed by the Atoäs, who shot the king in his hammock. This happening near a place called Cormantee (razed to the ground in vengeance), and on a Saturday, the most solemn oath of the Ashantees is, "By Saturday and Cormantee" ("Mĭminda Cormantee"); and no enterprise has since been undertaken on that day of the week.

1720. Saï Apokoo, brother of Saï Tootoo, was next placed on the stool. Had there been no brother, the sister's son would have been the heir: this extraordinary rule of succession, excluding all children but those of a sister, is founded on the argument, that if the wives of the sons are faithless, the blood of the family is entirely lost in the offspring, but should the daughters deceive their husbands it is still preserved.

Saï Apokoo finished the building of Coomassie, and exchanged compliments with the King of Dahomey, since which there has been no intercourse; the latter, probably, as a despotic monarch, did not wish to give his people any opportunity of contemplating the greater freedom of the Ashantee Government.

Saï is the family name of the present race of kings, some of their relatives bearing it as well. Innăna is also the cognomen of the kings of Dagwumba.

Apokoo invading the kingdom of Gaman, Abo, the King, fled to Kong, whither the Ashantee army pursued him. The King of Kong politically compelled Abo to meet his enemies on the frontier, lest they might disturb a neutral kingdom.

Abo being defeated, purchased a peace by presenting large sums of gold to the various chiefs, and consenting to an annual tribute. Apokoo next subjected Takima, whence the Fantees are said to have emigrated, and forced a second emigration of the people to Gomawa, at the back of Winnebah. He dispossessed the Akims of the English, Dutch,

and Danish Accra notes.[2] The mortifying destruction of European records, confines me to the report of the more intelligent natives on the subject of these notes, who declare that the people of Accra being deprived of them by the fraud of the Akims, when they were assisted by them against the Aquamboes, the Akims were in their turn obliged to yield them to their conquerors the Ashantees.

Tribute being demanded from the neighbouring kingdom of Dagwumba, a war ensued, and its troops were defeated. The King of Dagwumba, convinced that his former reliance on a superior population was vain, from the military genius of the Ashantees, and the commercial disposition of his own people, dispirited from their want of fire-arms,[3] prudently invited a peace, before a more decisive defeat left him no dignity, and his enemies no moderation for treating. As it was, they still respected his resources, and were content to secure him as as a tributary rather than exhaust their forces in his subjugation, in the infancy of their kingdom. A triumph in policy was in the view of the King of Dagwumba equivalent to the small diminution of personal dignity ; and at the expense of an inconsiderable tribute, he established a commercial intercourse, which, his markets being regularly supplied from the interior, was both an advantage and a security to him from the great convenience to his warlike neighbours, whose superstition, assenting to his great reputation for making saphies and for augury, would not only

[2] See the explanatory list of words and the early dispatches in the First Part.

[3] Fire-arms are unknown to such of the nations on the south of the Niger as the Shereef has visited ; and the reason which he assigns for it is, that the kings in the neighbourhood of the coast, persuaded that if these powerful instruments of war should reach the possession of the populous inland states their own independence would be lost, have strictly prohibited, and by the wisdom of their measures have effectually prevented this dangerous merchandise from passing beyond the limits of their dominions.—*Lucas.*

augment his revenue, but insure him superior respect as a tributary. Intā had previously become tributary.

I should have mentioned that every subject state was placed under the immediate care of some Ashantee chief, generally resident in the capital, who seldom visited it but to receive the tribute from the native ruler, for whose conduct he was in a reasonable degree responsible. Thus Quatchi Quofie has now the care of Dankara, Odumata of Soota, Apokoo of Aquamboe, Oöosa Quantabisa of Daboia, &c., &c. Their policy in short, not only in this particular, but in many others, seems to have been closely similar to that of the Persians, as described by Herodotus.

Boitinnë, the founder of Dwabin, died in this reign.

1741. Saï Apokoo was succeeded by his brother Saï Aquissi. I could not learn any particular exploits of his, excepting that he preserved the subjection of the states previously reduced. The King of Akim, in his time (the last who had the power of governing without consulting the pynins or elders), desiring to go to war with his neighbours, was obliged to obtain permission from the Ashantee Government, which he did by the promise of sending them half the spoil; but, gaining little or nothing, he did not do so. He soon afterwards heard of Aquissi's intention to demand his head; and knowing the King's word was irrevocable, he summoned his ministers, and desired to sacrifice his life for the quiet of his people: his ministers insisted on sharing his fate, and a barrel of powder being brought for each to sit on, they drank a large quantity of rum, and blew themselves up with the fire from their pipes. Dr. Isert also heard of this in Akim.

1753. Aquissi was succeeded by Saï Cudjo. The Aristocracy was retrenched and conciliated by this monarch, who raised his favourite captains to the vacant stools,[4] uniting

[4] "To succeed to the stool," does not mean to the seat in the

three or four in one, and swearing that their lives should be equally sacred to anticipate any doubts of his fidelity to the constitution.

Saï Cudjo, defeating the Warsaws and Assins more decisively than his predecessors, first compelled them to acknowledge their fealty to Ashantee. He also subjected Aquamboe and Aquapim, quelled several revolts of other countries, and was esteemed a very great captain. The grandfather of Amanquateä Atooa conquered Sawee, killing the king Boomencumma ; and Bakkee soon afterwards subjugated Moinseä. In this reign Quama, King of Dwabin, died.

1785. Saï Quamina succeeded his grandfather Saï Cudjo at a very early age. The Akims revolted soon after his accession, under Ofoosoo, their most active ruler for many years ; he engaged several smaller states in alliance, and defeated the Ashantees repeatedly ; at length the treachery of his followers procured Quatchi Quofie, the Ashantee general, his head, with which he returned to Coomassie, the country having again submitted. The fame of Ofoosoo made Quatchi Quofie so vain of this achievement, that he had a figure of him made, with which his umbrella is still crowned, and before which he dances with every insulting gesture and vaunt when he arrives on the ground at the various ceremonies. The present King has frequently been heard to say, that it was a great pity this old man did not know better, for the Akim caboceers generally attended his summons with alacrity and goodwill ; but the sight of the insulted effigy of their favourite leader disgusted them, and excited their revolt. These brave people have risen from their dependence at least eight times.

The Government finding a pretext to invade Banda, the

council, but is the common expression for succeeding to a property even in private life. The same stool or seat descends through many generations.

King Odrasse vigorously opposed the Ashantee army; but at length, seeing he must inevitably fall into their hands, to prevent his head being found, which circumstance he knew would sorely disquiet the enemy [5] and solace his own people, ordered, just before he killed himself, a woman to be sacrificed, and the abdomen being ripped, his head to be sewn up within it, and her body afterwards to be buried in the heap of the slain. It was discovered by bribes, and is now on one of the King's great drums. Soota was also subjugated in this reign, occupying the army under Odumata ten years, during which period he was not allowed to see Coomassie. Odumata afterwards subdued Coranza, the larger part of his army being Gaman auxiliaries.

Saï Quamina raised Apokoo to the stool of Assimadoo, to whom he had been a servant, in exclusion of the family.

The Danish Governor-General, meditating the punishment

[5] On the death of the late King of Amanaheä, two competitors for the stool appeared, one called Suikee or Suiquah; the other's name I am ignorant of. Both collected their slaves and adherents, and fought. Suikee was obliged to fly, and hide himself in the bush; but the people being dissatisfied with the conqueror, Suikee re-appeared against the town. When his rival was reduced beyond all hope, he threw all his gold, which filled several jars, into the lake; and then collecting his wives and the different branches of his family, went with them into a remote part of the bush and cut all their throats, with the exception of one son, whom he reserved to assist him in burying the bodies. He then made this son swear on his fetish to kill and bury him, and never to discover where the bodies were laid; the son fulfilled the oath and returned to Apollonia, but I am not certain what became of him. After Suikee had seated himself firmly on the stool, he by some means discovered where the bodies were concealed; he caused them to be dug up and taken to Apollonia town; he then ranged them in a sitting posture, in a row along the beach, with stakes to extend their arms and support their heads: this horrid spectacle was exhibited until even their bones had perished. One of Suikee's first acts after his accession was to consecrate his hiding-place in the bush, making it death, or a heavy fine, for any one to swear by Suikee's bush, and not to keep the oath.

of the Popos, applied to Saï Quamina for 5000 Ashantee auxiliaries; the request was granted, but while the troops were on their march down the Governor died, and his successor prudently paid 250 ounces of gold (alleged to have been advanced by the King for their substinence on their march to Christiansburg Castle), rather than involve himself in the expenses and troubles of such an alliance.

1798. Saï Quamina had remained twelve months on a visit at Dwabin, deaf to the remonstrances of various deputations urging his return, and infatuated beyond recovery by the arts of his mistress, Gyawa, the daughter of the King; when it was formally announced to him, that if he was not present at the approaching Yam custom, he would be deprived of the stool. It is said that this woman refused to accompany him to Coomassie, either dreading the resentment of his mother, a woman of violent passions and great ambition, or, which is more probable, influenced by her father to mingle this repugnance with her blandishments to accelerate the ruin of Saï Quamina, which he was not without hopes might lead to his own aggrandizement. The form of the dethronement is interesting. Appia Danqua, whose power seems to have been equal to that of mayor of the palace, repaired to the King's mother with the chief captains, and deliberately recounting the offences of her son, commanded her to remonstrate with him, as the daughter of their old king, and the parent to whom he owed his elevation. The mother, who no doubt had assisted in the private council, affecting to bewail her own misfortune and her son's disgrace, confessed, with seeming reluctance, that her remonstrances had already been despised, that the king had even attempted her life, and begged them to raise her second son, Saï Apokoo, to the stool the elder had forfeited. This was complied with, and they sent Saï Quamina a few of his women and slaves, desiring him to retire into the bush and build himself a croom, and on

his death, which happened soon after, as it was said from the poignancy of his feelings, they made the greatest custom for him which had ever been known. The sable Cleopatra died soon after him. It was whispered, that those he had formerly injured incessantly insulting him in his retirement, even to abusing his wives before his face, he had a private interview with the present King, communicated several schemes of conquests, invoked him to distrust, and, if possible, to punish those who had forsaken him, and implored death; which was inflicted (as the blood of the royal family could not be shed, and as he could not be privately drowned in the sacred river) by fixing his feet on the ground, bending his body backwards with a prop in the small of his back, and suspending several large teeth of ivory from a noose around his neck, which, hanging from the prop, strangled him.

1799. Saï Apokoo did not live more than a few weeks after being elevated to the stool, and was succeeded by his brother, Saï Tootoo Quamina, the present King, who must then have been about seventeen years of age. On this occasion, the general assembly of the captains, jealous of the aristocracy, and desirous of making a favourable impression on the young King, insisted that the remaining members of it should propitiate the reign by publicly disclaiming their exemption from capital punishment.

The invasion of the Fantee kingdom in 1807 was the first important military act of the present reign, the circumstances and origin of which, being pretty accurately described by Mr. Meredith in the extract in the Appendix, I need not repeat. Whilst the invasion was meditating, Baba, now the chief of the Moors, presented himself to solicit an asylum in Coomassie, having been driven from Gamba by the rapacity of the King, his near relative; and professing solely to desire the recovery of a large property withheld from him, to make the King of Ashantee the heir to it. The King promised he

would oblige the King of Gamba to do him justice on his return from the Fantee war, if Baba and his companions were fortunate in their prayers and charms for his success. The King of Gamba did not think proper to resist the demand afterwards made through the Ashantee Government.

1807. Coonadua, the King's mother, was left regent during his absence; this woman was a second Messalina, and many young captains who refused to intrigue with her, from fear or disgust, have been ultimately the victims of her artifice and vengeance.

Yaboquorra, the King of Dwabin, died in this interval, and was succeeded by his grandson, Boitinnë Quama, now about twenty years of age.

1811. Attah, caboceer or King of Akim, had followed the King to the first Fantee war, and behaved well. Apokoo being sent on an expedition against the Fantees of Winnebah and Berracoo, Attah received orders to join him with his contingency; instead of which he sent a message to Apokoo, before he passed the Boosempra river, refusing to join him, and advising him not to attempt to pass through his country. Apokoo reported this immediately to the King, who, as is usual, sent to Attah to inquire if he had said so. He confessed that he had, without hesitation, adding that the King treated him like a slave in incessantly summoning him to attend his wars; and besides, that he never could forget that Saï Cudjo had cut off his grandfather's head, and that he would fight with Apokoo whenever he came. Soon afterwards, Quamina Guma (the father of Becqua, captain of Danish Accra), and one of the King's sons, returning to Coomassie with a large quantity of gold collected to make custom for the King's mother, Attah intercepted, robbed, and murdered them and their party, with the exception of one, whom he desired to tell the King that this act would convince him he was in earnest, and determined to go to

war with him. Apokoo was immediately ordered to proceed against Attah, who had engaged Quaw Saffătchee as a party in the revolt, who was weary of the same laborious vassalage. When Apokoo entered the Akim country, Attah was for attacking him immediately, and at sunrise; but Quaw impressing his doubts of their succeeding against the superior warfare of the Ashantees, begged him to stop until three o'clock, when the Ashantees generally ate and slept, and when they might be better able to retreat if worsted, as the enemy never pursued in the dusk. The attack was a surprise, but the fight continued obstinate and undecided until night, when Apokoo found he had lost so many men that he immediately despatched a messenger to summon the Accras to his aid as vassals to the King. His messenger reached Accra the next day, and that people joined him on the following, on which the enemy retreated precipitately, Attah to windward, and Quaw to Adda. Apokoo followed the latter, who having escaped him after a tedious watchfulness, Apokoo, believing the Danish Governor, Mr. Flindt, to have connived, made him his prisoner and kept him with the army, which soon afterwards encamped in Aquapim five months, during which time he was treated with kindness and respect, but his ransom amounted to nearly £400. Apokoo was soon after ordered back to Coomassie. He told me he brought the bell of Adda fort as a trophy.

Appia Danqua had been sent, at the same time with Apokoo, with 6000 men against the Fantee states, which were disposed to the revolters. He defeated them at Apam, and took Baffoo the Annamaboe caboceer prisoner; but whilst his army was before Tantum, intelligence of the approach of Attah, who had retreated from Apokoo, but whose name was as redoubtable as his disposition was rapacious, subdued his firmness, and under the plea of prudence hurried him back to the interior.

The path was afterwards shut for two years, through the vigilance and from the terror of Cudjo Cooma, who had been elected to the stool of Akim, six months after the death of Attah, whose immediate successor (Quawko Ashantee) tyrannized so cruelly during that period, that he was commanded by the people to kill himself, and could only obtain the indulgence of a week's respite, which he spent in singing and dancing, in fact in making his own custom. Quaw Saffătchee had also leagued with the Fantees, who attacked the Accra town, but were repulsed. The King suddenly determined to open the path to receive the arrears of pay due from the forts, and sent Amanqua Abiniowa with an army of 20,000 men, charging him to offer no violence nor commit hostility, unless provoked by attack, but to receive the submission of the Akims and Aquapims, and merely to exact a fine to seal it. Appia Danqua was sent at the same time with a smaller army to the back of Winnebah and Tantum, to intercept the revolters if they fled to windward. Abiniowa proceeded to Aguiasso, one day's march from Aquapim, unmolested, when one of his foraging parties was attacked by Cudjo Cooma and seven men killed. A general engagement took place the next morning, and after six hours' fighting the Ashantees were victorious, and sent a jaw-bone and a slave to each of the Accra towns. Amanqua then marched to Accra to receive the King's pay, and remained nearly twelve months in its neighbourhood. He then returned to Aquapim, where after some time he received a message from the King, with a large quantity of gold, advising him that he must not see his face again unless he brought the heads of Cudjo and Quaw. Amanqua did not immediately communicate this message to his captains, but ordered them to deposit their equipage and property in Accra, and then, making a large custom for three days to propitiate the enterprise, he took fetish with all his captains,

that they would never return to Coomassie without the heads.

1816. Appia Danqua had died in Assin in the interim, and was succeeded by his brother Appia Nanu, under whom Bakkee was the second in command. The King hearing nothing of his progress, and his indolence being reported to him, sent orders to Amanqua to join him, which he did at Essecooma, reproaching him for his cowardice. Soon after this, the skirmish at the salt pond near Cape Coast took place, the detachment was principally of Assins, and commanded by Quasheemanqua. Yokokroko soon afterwards joined the combined army (which had marched to Abra), with a few hundred men destined to attack Commenda.

Not long after the palaver was settled at Cape Coast and the army again divided, Cudjo Cooma was killed by a party of Appia Nanu's at Insoom or Incoom near Essecooma; upon which Appia, instead of marching to join Amanqua as had been concerted, returned to Coomassie, where he was coldly received, but not accused until the 12th of July last (see Diary). Adoo Danqua, the brother of Quaw Saffătchee, came to the Accras and concerted the delivering of him up, as he had tired him out with his wanderings; the Ashantees agreed to prevail on the King to give him the stool if he did. A few Accras and a few Ashantees accompanied him, and when he came near where his brother was hid, one day's journey from Accra, he placed an ambush, and sitting down expostulated with him, and recommended him to kill himself; but Quaw would not, alleging that he should eventually wear out the King's patience in pursuing him; on this Adoo rose, and a shot was immediately fired at Quaw, who was brought down and rose again four times, exclaiming that his brother was his murderer, who reflected the reproach on his own obstinacy. The body was brought to Accra, and his head sent to Coomassie, and it is now a trophy at Ban-

tama or the back town. Amanqua then returned to Coomassie, and arrived about six months before the mission.

The Aowins, to anticipate the ambitious views of the Ashantee Government, lately sent an embassy with offers of service and tribute, but the amount of the latter has not yet been decided.

The King had sent to demand the royal stool of Buntooko or Gaman, which was thickly plated and embossed with gold; it was given up by Adinkara, the King, from fear; his sister, a woman of masculine spirit and talent, and the soul of the Government, being absent. On her return, she reproached her brother severely, and ordered a solid gold stool to be made to replace it. That being also demanded as the right of the superior, with a large gold ornament in the shape of an elephant dug out from some ruins, the sister, receiving the ambassadors, replied that the King should not have either, and added, impressing it with more force than delicacy, that her brother and she must change sexes, for she was most proper for a King, and would fight to the last rather than be so constantly despoiled. The King of Ashantee sent word that she was fit to be a King's sister and a strong woman, and he would give her twelve months to prepare for war. Several embassies have been sent, however, to negotiate, two during our stay; the latter, it was said, with an offer of 400 Bendas (£3200), but the aristocracy were obstinate, and urged to the King, that his other tributaries would laugh at him if he did not get the King of Gaman's head. The small-pox was raging in Buntooko.

It is clear that the King of Ashantee contemplates the reduction of the King of Dwabin from an independent ally to a tributary; we witnessed one circumstance to the point. A messenger being sent to require gold of Dwabin, the King of which is a very weak young man, a captain of the royal family replied, that there was no war on foot to require

gold, and as it could only be for the individual benefit of Ashantee, the Government must be reminded that Dwabin had formerly exacted gold, and was not now to be subjected to imposition, because the right had been yielded from respect to the sister kingdom. This being reported to the King, he suppressed his anger, and sent a gold-headed sword, with other marks of dignity and favour to this man, who to his surprise refused them, alleging that the honours he already possessed at home became him better. The King still temporized. Some months after, at the full assembly convened for the proclamation of the treaty with the British Government, the mother of the King of Dwabin, who acts as regent, and over whom Saï is known to have much influence, suddenly, and no doubt at his instance, accused this captain of plotting to deprive her son of the stool. The accusation was supported by others, who prayed the King to judge the palaver. The King of Dwabin sat with the greatest indifference. The accused made an animated appeal to the assembly, and Saï affected to support him vehemently, and ordered the linguists to give him chalk or acquit him. The man thanking him very earnestly, Adoosee was desired to tell him, that his ill-will to the King of Ashantee had been reported in a very aggravated manner; but as it was no longer believed, he was only required to take fetish that he liked the King, and would do him all the good he could; this done the man received several marks of favour and bounty.

Saï Tootoo is considered to take better care of the treasury than any of his predecessors: he cautiously extends his prerogative, and takes every opportunity of increasing the number of secondary captains, by dignifying the young men brought up about his person, and still retaining them in his immediate service.

Saï Acotoo, the King's brother, and the heir to the stool,

appeared to me very inferior in ability; but the Ashantees say otherwise.

The King's private character is amiable; the children of his brothers share the fondness and indulgence which endear him to his own, and his few moments of recreation are the liveliest of theirs. The circumstances connected with the various instances which we witnessed of his generosity to others, justify me in ascribing it to the benevolence of his disposition. His admiration of ingenious rather than splendid novelty, has frequently imposed the appearance of a covetousness, scarcely culpable from his reverence for invention, and the amazement its extent excited. To present him with the trifles which attracted his notice when he visited us offended him, he told us we must only answer his questions and let him examine them; to make dashes on the occasion of a private visit, was to vitiate the motive of the condescension, which could not be repeated unless we paid more respect to his dignity and friendship. The King is certainly capricious, and his liberality of mind is stained by prejudices against individuals which he confesses to be unaccountable; and to several of the principal actors in his brother's deposition (which, desirous to extend his prerogative, he would tacitly censure), he has been unjustly severe. His humanity is frequently superior to his superstition and policy; he offended Quatchi Quofie, one of the four, by limiting the human sacrifices at his mother's funeral, and resisted all the importunities, founded on precedent, for the allowance of a greater number. He dismissed us twice with apologies for not proceeding to business, confessing the first time, that he had been unusually irritated just after he sent for us, and had not recovered his calmness; the latter, that some agreeable news had induced him to drink more than fitted him to hear great palavers like ours. In his judicial adminstration a lie always aggravated the punishment, and truth generally

extenuated, and sometimes atoned of itself for the offence: he invariably anticipated the temerity of perjury, where convicting evidence was to be opposed to the accused. The King's manners are a happy mixture of dignity and affability, they engage rather than encourage, and his general deportment is conciliating though repressive. He speaks well and more logically than most of his council, who are diffuse; but his superior talent is marked in the shrewd questions by which he fathoms a design or a narrative. He excels in courtesy, is wisely inquisitive, and candid in his comparisons: war, legislature, and mechanism, were his favourite topics in our private conversations. The great but natural fault of the King is his ambition; I do not think it has ever proved superior to the pledge of his honour, but it certainly has, and that frequently, to his sense of justice, which is repressed rather than impaired by it. This sketch of his character being narrowed to my own knowledge, will be assisted by the following history of Agay, the second linguist.

Agay, when a boy, carried salt from Aquoomo to Coomassie for sale; he was afterwards taken into the service of Aquootoo, caboceer of that place, against whom the Government had instituted a palaver, but wrongfully. Agay accompanied the caboceer when he was sent for to Coomassie for judgment. After the King's messengers had spoken, misrepresenting the case in preference to confessing the King to be in the wrong, and the caboceer was confused, this boy suddenly rose and said, to use the words of the narrators, "King, you have people to wash you, to feed you, to serve you, but you have no people to speak the truth to you, and tell you when God does not like your palaver." The assembly cried out unanimously that the boy might be hurried away and his head taken off; but the King said, "No! let him finish;" and Agay is said to have spoken three hours, and to have disclosed and argued the palaver to the King's conviction, and his

master's acquittal. He was retained to attend the King, but treated with no particular distinction. A serious palaver occurring between two principal men, it was debated before the council, who were at a loss to decide, but inclined to the man whom the King doubted; judgment was suspended. In the interim the King sent Agay privately to the house of each, to hear their palavers in turn, tête-à-tête; he did so, and when the King asked him who he thought was right, he confirmed his impression. "Now," said the King, "I know you have a good head." Agay was then made a linguist, and presented with a house, wives, slaves, and gold. Sometime afterwards, the King confessing a prejudice against a wealthy captain, his linguists, always inclined to support him, said, "If you wish to take his stool from him, we will make the palaver;" but Agay sprang up, exclaiming, "No, King! that is not good; that man never did you any wrong, you know all the gold of your subjects is yours at their death, but if you get all now, strangers will go away and say, only the King has gold, and that will not be good; but let them say the King has gold, all his captains have gold, and all his people have gold, then your country will look handsome, and the bush people fear you." For this the King made him second linguist, and much increased his property. When Amanqua had the command of the army against Cudjo Cooma, the King asked him which linguist he would take, he replied, Adoosee or Otee; the King said, "No! I will give you this boy, he has the best head for hard palavers." Amanqua urged that he was too young, the King told him he was a fool to say so. He then made Amanqua take fetish with him to report the merits of Agay faithfully, who distinguished himself so much, that he is always employed in difficult foreign palavers.

The manners of the higher orders of captains, always dignified, are courteous and hospitable in private, though

haughty and abrupt in public. I believe them to be jealous rather than tenacious of their honour, and their sophistry is as ingenious as their maxims are prepossessing. They consider that war alone affords an exertion or display of ability, and they esteem the ambition of their King as his greatest virtue. They have no idea of the aggrandizement of a state by civil policy alone. They are candid in acknowledging their defeats, and just to the prowess of their enemies; but they possess little humanity, and are very avaricious and oppressive. They listen to superstition with the most childish credulity, but they only cultivate it for the preservation of life and the indulgence of passion; beyond this, the Moors could never advance their inquiries; they are neither curious nor anxious about a future state, pretending to it from rank and achievement rather than domestic virtue; and believing if the latter were outraged, the solemnities and sacrifices of their funeral customs would purchase their repose. Indeed, licensed as they are by the zealous conflicts of rival superstitions, Moorish and Pagan, their lives are moderate and benevolent to what might be expected, and merit more than our excuses.

The lower order of people are ungrateful, insolent, and licentious. The King repeatedly said he believed them to be the worst people existing, except the Fantees, and not comparable with many of their inland neighbours. Perhaps we should agree with Voltaire—"Je crois qu'il faut plutôt juger d'une puissante nation par ceux qui sont à la tête, que par la populace."[6]

[6] The principal districts of Fantee are the Affetoo, the Braffoo, and the Essecoomah; Cape Coast is in the former. The Dey of Affettoo (a title probably introduced by the Portuguese) was formerly supreme in Fantee, so far as summoning the other kings and caboceers at pleasure, prescribing their political conduct, and being appealed to and sentencing in all cases of life and death, wherever or by whomsoever the crime may have been committed, witchcraft excepted. Up-

wards of a century ago the small-pox almost depopulated Affettoo, then the largest town and capital of all Fantee (it is about ten miles inland from Cape Coast), and all the immediate heirs to the stool being cut off, the supremacy was transferred to Mankasim. The present Dey, however, preserves a spiritual authority over the other kings and caboceers, and is esteemed as the superior fetish man; when they desire rain, for instance, they apply to him to procure it, and they look to him solely for their chronology, which he preserves by knotting strings. Mankasim then became the capital and largest town of Fantee, but it was almost destroyed by the Ashantees in their first invasion of 1807. Any Fantee caboceer who did not attend the summons of the King of Mankasim was suspended by him, and afterwards displaced by the Diet. Adoo, the last King of the Braffoos, despoiling all his subjects of their most valuable property, and countenancing the individuals of his family in the same assumption and violation, without any regard to persons; they were all seized on his death by a simultaneous rising of the people, and sold off the coast as slaves to get rid of the race. Adookoo, one of the leading men, was then called to the care of the stool, with the title of caboceer only, it being still considered as an interregnum, but he exercised the same supremacy and privileges which the King had done, and was acknowledged by the whole country. During his retreat and wanderings in the bush, after several defeats by the Ashantees, the Fantee towns have assumed many political and judicial rights before centred in Mankasim; but Adookoo is now expected to summon them all and re-establish the ancient order of things, which they deem too sacred to think of resisting. It was not the Braffoos, or the whole people of that district, who had the privilege of living abroad at the public expense, and who took whatever they pleased of the property of others, as Mr. Meredith has stated; but the state officers of that district called Brofoos, who acquired that name from the hide in which the tobacco is rolled, being formed into a seat peculiar to them, never using a wooden stool. They were the executors and not the organs of the law, and always sat to the right and left of Adookoo, but had no voice. The number was twelve, and the dignity immemorially hereditary in as many families. These men were allowed to take whatever they pleased at home and abroad, but since Adookoo's misfortunes and inability to support them, they have been content to beg for their tithes in the large towns, and only exercise their rapacity in the small crooms of their own district.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS.

THE King, the Aristocracy (now reduced to four), and the Assembly of Captains,[1] are the three estates of the Ashantee Government.

The constitution requires or admits an interference of the Aristocracy in all *foreign* politics, extending even to a veto on the King's decision; but they watch rather than share the *domestic* administration, generally influencing it by their opinion, but never appearing to control it from authority; and their opinions on civil questions are submitted with a deference, directly in contrast to their bold declarations on subjects of war or tribute, which amount to injunction.

The Ashantees advocated this constitution by the argument, that the interference of the Aristocracy in all foreign politics makes the nation more formidable to its enemies, who feel they cannot provoke with impunity where there are so many guardians of the military glory, who, by insisting on a war, become responsible in a great degree for the issue, and pledge an energy and exertion, in comparison with which such as could be excited by a despotic monarch must be

[1] It has been shown in the history that the Aristocracy was originally formed of the peers and associates of Saï Tootoo, the founder of the monarchy, who owed his elevation not to his superior rank, but to his superior endowments and address. The Aristocracy has been gradually retrenched since Saï Cudjo pointed out the way.

deemed disinterested. They added that an almost independent administration of the King was better calculated for the domestic government, because the decrees of a monarch have naturally more force with the people, over whom his power is unlimited; and further, that a civil power in the Aristocracy could not be reconciled to the Assembly of Captains, to whom the former estate was already sufficiently invidious for the health of the constitution.

In exercising his judicial authority, the King always retired in private with the Aristocracy to hear their opinions, to encourage their candour, without diminishing his majesty in the eye of the people; and in using his legislative prerogative, he was said always to give them a private opportunity of defending the old law rather than of objecting to the new, though from the same state policy the latter was announced to the Aristocracy as well as to the Assembly of Captains, before the people, as the sudden and arbitrary pleasure of the King.

The general Assembly of the Caboceers and Captains is summoned merely to give publicity to the will of the King and Aristocracy, and to provide for its observance, unless on state emergencies or unprecedented occasions, such as the treaty with the British Government. The following anecdote, related to me by many Ashantees, will illustrate the freedom of their constitution.

A son of the King's, quarrelling with a son of Amanquateä's (one of the four), told him that, in comparison with himself, he was the son of a slave. This being reported to Amanquateä, he sent a party of his soldiers, who pulled down the house of the King's son and seized his person. The King hearing of it sent to Amanquateä, and learning the particulars, interceded for his son, and redeemed his head for 20 periguins of gold.

The most original feature of their law, that of succession,

has been mentioned in the History, with the argument on which it is founded : it is universally binding : the course is, the brother, the sister's son, the son, the chief vassal or slave to the stool. In the Fantee country, the principal slave succeeds to the exclusion of the son, who only inherits his mother's property, frequently considerable, and inherited from her family independently of her husband : the daughters share a small part of the fetish or ornamental gold, which is much alloyed with silver.

The sisters of the King may marry or intrigue with whom they please, provided he be an eminently strong or personable man ; that the heirs of the stool may be, at least, personably superior to the generality of their countrymen.

The King is heir to the gold of every subject, from the highest to the lowest ; the fetish gold and the cloths are generally presented by him to the successor to the stool, from which the slaves and other property of the deceased are inseparable. The King contributes to the funeral custom to validate his claim, and usually bestows ten periguins of the dust gold on the successor (if of a rich man), who is in all cases liable for the debts of the deceased, though the amount is generally made good to him sooner or later, if he has influence with those about the King, or recommends himself to his notice personally. This law is sometimes anticipated, by a father presenting his children with large sums of gold just before his death. Boiteëm, the father of Otee, one of the King's linguists, is known to have done so, but the son discovers his wealth very deliberately.

The gold buried with members of the royal family, and afterwards deposited with their bones in the fetish house at Bantama is sacred, and cannot be used but to redeem the capital from the hands of an enemy, or in extreme national distress ; and even then, the King must avoid the sight of it, if he would avoid the fatal vengeance of the fetish or deity.

If a slave seeks refuge from an ally, or tributary, he is restored; if from an unconnected power, he is received as a free subject.

The tributary state, which distinguishes itself in suppressing the revolt of another, is rewarded by privileges at the expense of the offending power. Thus, if a subject of the former kills a subject of the latter, the price of a slave only can be recovered, instead of the fine otherwise attached to the death of a freeman; and the damages for other injuries are reduced in proportion.

If the subjects of any tributary do not like the decision of their ruler, according to the laws of their own country, they may appeal to the King, and claim decision by the law of Ashantee. The commission allowed to the collectors of tribute or fine, is two periguins out of ten.

The direct descendants of the noble families who assisted the enterprise of Saï Tootoo, the founder of the kingdom, are not subject to capital punishment, but can only be despoiled. There are now but four remaining, Ananqui, Assafee (see Diary), and two others, all beggars.

We were present at the promulgation of the following law:—"All persons sent on the King's business shall no longer seize provisions in any country, whether tributary or otherwise, in his name, but requiring food shall offer a fair price for the first they meet with; if this is refused, they shall then demand one meal, and one meal only, in the King's name, and proceed. This extends to all messengers sent by the head captains, whose servants, as well as the King's, have been long in the habit of extorting goods from traders, and tobacco and provisions in the market-place, in the names of their masters, which they shall do no longer without incurring the same penalty which is attached to the former part of this law, 110 periguins." The form of making this law was, the linguists with their insignia

advanced and announced it to each of the four members of the Aristocracy, then to the whole assembly; afterwards Cudjo Appăni, the chief crier, proclaimed it to the people, who shouted their thanks; his fee from the King was ten ackies, from the people twenty. This attachment of the penalty to the law (the chief merit of Zaleucus) manifests some advancement in polity, in securing the accused against arbitrary judgment.[2]

The caboceers of Soota, Marmpon, Becqua, and Kokofoo, the four large towns built by the Ashantees at the same time with Coomassie, have several palatine privileges; they have an independent treasury, though subject to the demands of the Government and a judicial power, with the reserve of an appeal to the King. They celebrate their own yam custom after they have attended that at Coomassie, at which all dependents and tributaries must be present, and which seems to have been instituted like the Panathenæa of Theseus, to unite such various nations by a common festival. These four caboceers only are allowed, with the King, to stud their sandals with gold.

The blood of the son of a King, or of any of the royal family, cannot be shed; but when guilty of a crime of magnitude, they are drowned in the river Dah, by a particular captain named Cudjo Samfani.

If a man swears on the King's head that another must kill him, which is understood to be invoking the King's death if he does not, the other man must do so, or forfeit the whole of his property, and generally his life. This very frequently occurs, for the blacks in their ardour for revenge,

[2] By the laws of Ahanta, which are peculiar, if any subject or sojourner is in urgent want of provisions, he may seize the first he meets with, paying the owner the prices which have been fixed by the caboceers: this is similar to the law of Lycurgus. At the Contoom or annual Harvest Custom, the Ahantas revise their laws, as Solon enjoined the Athenians to do, annulling some and adding others.

do not regard sacrificing their own lives to bring a palaver on their murderer, which their families are sure to do.

To be convicted of cowardice is death.

A subject may clear any part of the bush for building a croom, or making a plantation, without paying anything to the King as lord of the soil; but he must pay a small sum to the possessor of the nearest croom or plantation through which his path runs.

The Government has no power to direct the traders to any particular market, though it interdicts the commerce with any power which may have offended it.

All the King's linguists take fetish to be true to each other, and to report faithfully.

If any subject picks up gold dropped in the market-place it is death, being collected only by order of the Government on emergencies. (See Revenue.)

Theft of the King's property, or intrigue with the female attendants of the royal family, or habitual incontinence, is punished by emasculation; but crim. con. with the wife of a man who has been so punished is death, being considered an aggravated contempt of law.

Interest of money is $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. for every forty days, which is accompanied after the first period by a dash of liquor. When the patience of the creditor is exhausted he seizes the debtor, or even any of his family, as slaves, and they can only be redeemed by the payment. This barbarous law was nearly the same in Athens.[3]

In almost all charges of treason, the life of the accuser is at risk as well as that of the accused, and is forfeited on the acquittal of the latter. I understood this, from the best

[3] In Ahanta, all old debts must be paid within six weeks from the commencement of the Contoom or Harvest Custom. The creditor can panyar or seize not only the family, but the townsmen of the debtor.

authorities, to be indispensable as a check on the palavers; envy, spleen, or covetousness would otherwise accumulate.

The accuser is never discovered or confronted to the accused, nor the evidence revealed, until the latter has fully replied to the charge, as outlined by the King's linguists.

Palavers are frequently allowed to sleep even for years, as in the Fantee country, to make the damages sued for the heavier. For instance, if a man stole a hen twelve months before, the value of the broods and eggs it would have produced on a fair average in the interval, would be shrewdly calculated and sued for.[4] State palavers are also allowed to sleep for years, but that is to impose the confidence on the accused that the principal witnesses are dead, and the impression is artfully assisted by the policy of the council. The witnesses against Appia Nanu, who had reported his haughty message to the King, had not been seen for nearly twelve months before they burst before him on the day of his trial, having been sent into the bush on the most distant frontier.

No man is punished for killing his own slave, but he is for the murder of his wife or child.[5] If he kills the slave of another he must pay the value. If a great man kills his equal in rank he is generally allowed to die by his own hands. The death of an inferior is generally compensated by a fine to the family, equal to seven slaves.[6]

[4] The Ahanta laws do not allow of these protracted palavers, and only award the intrinsic value of the articles stolen or destroyed. If a man robs a plantation of a yam, he must pay the owner a tokoo of gold, and take two more. In Fantee the pettiest theft frequently entails slavery.

[5] In the kingdom of Amanaheä or Apollonia, the tenth child is always buried alive.

[6] A person accidentally killing another in Ahanta pays 5 ozs. of gold to the family, and defrays the burial customs. In the case of murder it is 20 ozs. of gold and a slave; or he and his family become the slaves of the family of the deceased. If a man dashes himself to the

If a person brings a frivolous palaver against another, he must give an entertainment to the family and friends of the acquitted.

If an aggry bead is broken in a scuffle seven slaves are to be paid to the owner.

Trifling thefts are generally punished by the exposure of the party in various parts of the town whilst the act is published; but more serious thefts cannot be visited on the guilty by any but his family, who are bound to compensate the accuser, and punish their relative or not as they think fit; they may even put him or her to death, if the injury is serious, or the crime repeated or habitual.

If a man cohabits with a woman without the house, or in the bush, they are both the slaves of the first person who discovers them; but redeemable by their families.

It is forbidden, as it was by Lycurgus, to praise the beauty of another man's wife, being intrigue by implication.

A captain generally gives a periguin to the family on taking a wife, a poor man two ackies. The damages for intrigue in the former case are ten periguins; in the latter, one ackie and a half, and a pot of palm wine.

fetish on the head of another, the other must redeem him. If a man kills himself on the head of another, the other must kill himself also or pay 20 ozs. to the family: in Fantee the sum is indefinitely great: this is frequently resorted to, when there is no other prospect of revenge.

Adumissa, an extraordinary beautiful red-skinned woman of Cape Coast, possessed numerous admirers, but rejected them all. One of them, in despair, shot himself on her head close to her house. The family demanding satisfaction, to save her relations from a ruinous palaver, she resolved to shoot herself in expiation. She accordingly assembled her friends and relatives from various parts of the country, and sitting, richly dressed, killed herself in their presence with golden bullets. After the body had been exposed in state, it was buried with a profusion of cloths and gold. The beautiful Adumissa is still eulogised, and her favourite patterned cloth bears her name amongst the natives.

If a woman involves herself in a palaver she involves her family, but not her husband.

None but a captain can sell his wife, and he only if her family are unable to redeem her by the repayment of the marriage fee.

The property of the wife is distinct and independent of the husband, though the King is the heir to it.

None but a captain can put his wife to death for infidelity, and even then he is expected to accept a liberal offer of gold from the family for her redemption. To intrigue with a wife of the King's is death.

If the family of a woman are able and willing, on her report of her dislike to her husband, or his ill-treatment of her, to tender him the marriage fee, he must accept it, and the woman returns to her family, but may not marry again.

If a husband is not heard of by his wife for three years she may marry again, and if the first husband returns the claim of the second is the better; but all the children of the after marriage are considered the property of the first husband, and may be pawned by him.

Those accused of witchcraft, or having a devil, are tortured to death.

The good treatment of slaves is in some degree provided for by the liberty they have of dashing or transferring themselves to any freeman, whom they enjoin to make them his property, by invoking his death if he does not—an imperative appeal.

SUPERSTITIONS.

THE negro tradition of the book and the calabash, cited by St. Pierre, is familiar to every native of these parts, and seems the source of their religious opinions. Impressed that the blind avarice of their forefathers inclined all the favour of the supreme God to the white men, they believe themselves to have been committed to the mediating care of subordinate deities, necessarily as inferior to the primary as they are to the Europeans.

As the Ashantee manner of relating this tradition differs a little from that of the Fantee, I will repeat it, on the authority of Odumata and other principal men. In the beginning of the world God created three white and three black men, with the same number of women; he resolved, that they might not afterwards complain, to give them their choice of good and evil. A large box or calabash was set on the ground, with a piece of paper, sealed up on one side of it. God gave the black men the first choice, who took the box, expecting it contained everything, but, on opening it, there appeared only a piece of gold, a piece of iron, and several other metals, of which they did not know the use. The white men opening the paper, it told them everything. God left the blacks in the bush, but conducted the whites to the water-side (for this happened in Africa), communicated with them every night, and taught them to build a small ship which carried them to another country, whence they returned after a long period,

with various merchandize to barter with the blacks, who might have been the superior people.

With this imaginary alienation from the God of the universe, not a shade of despondency is associated; they consider that it diminishes their comforts and their endowments on earth, but that futurity is a dull and torpid state to the majority of mankind.

Their fetishes or subordinate deities are supposed to inhabit particular rivers, woods, and mountains, as the imaginary deities of the Celts. They are venerated in proportion as their predictions (always equivocal) chance to be realized. The present favourite fetish of Ashantee is that of the river Tando, Cobee, a river in Dankara, and Odentee on the Adirree, are two of the others.

The kings, caboceers, and the higher class, are believed to dwell with the superior Deity after death, enjoying an eternal renewal of the state and luxury they possessed on earth. It is with this impression that they kill a certain number of both sexes at the funeral customs, to accompany the deceased, to announce his distinction, and to administer to his pleasures.

The spirits of the inferior classes are believed to inhabit the houses of the fetish in a state of torpid indolence, which recompenses them for the drudgery of their lives, and which is truly congenial to the feelings of the negro. Those of superior wisdom and experience are said to be endued with foresight after death, and to be appointed to observe the lives and advise the good of those mortals who acknowledge the fetish; their state corresponding, in short, with that of the first race of men after death, as described by Hesiod. Those whose enormities nullify the mediation of the funeral custom, or, whom neglect or circumstances might have deprived of it, are doomed, in the imagination of others, to haunt the gloom of the forest, stealing occasionally to their former abodes in

rare but lingering visits. Those who have neglected the custom, or funeral rights of their family, are thought to be accursed and troubled by their spirits.

There are two orders of fetishmen. The first class dwell with the fetish,[1] who has a small round house, built generally at a distance from the town. They question the oracle respecting the future fortune of a state or an individual, convey its advice, and enjoin the attention of the *audible* spirits of those any member of their family would question respecting property or domestic circumstances :—

"Auditur tumulo et vox reddita fertur ad aures."—Æn. vi.

The inferior class pursue their various occupations in society, assist in customs and superstitious ceremonies, and are applied to as fortune-tellers or conjurors are in Europe; especially in cases of theft, when, from a secret system of espionage, and a reluctance, frequently amounting to a refusal to discover

[1] At Nanampong (Nanan means a grandfather) near Mancasim, in the Braffoo country, there is a deep dell, inhabited by a number of aged fetishmen, whom the Fantees believe to be immortal, and to have lived there beyond all memory, in close converse with the fetish, and ignorant of the world but by intuition. The spirits of the aged and wise are believed to dwell amongst them, and their prophecies and advice are revered as emanations from the fetish. Adookoo, the chief of the Braffoos, used sometimes to consult them in person, but generally through his head fetishman, and the Fantees now attribute the successes of the Ashantees and their own defeats and misfortunes to the disregard of what the oracle enjoined; for, whilst it was obeyed, they say the country always prospered; and, indeed, from the instances which have been reported to me, the responses appear to have directed a just and prudent policy, highly conducive to the welfare of Fantee. This dell is so impervious, and yet so capacious, that many hundred Fantees were secreted there during the Ashantee invasions which these priests had predicted. The house or temple of the principal fetish of the Ahanta country, called Checquoo, is at Apremmadoo, about four miles up the Takaradee river. Upwards of fifty superior priests are resident there.

the culprit, or to do more than replace the property whence it was taken, they are generally successful. The magical ceremony consists in knotting, confusing, and dividing behind the back several strings and shreds of leather. They are also frequently applied to by slippery wives to work charms to keep their husbands in ignorance of a projected intrigue, which they affect to do.

The primary dignity is hereditary in families, as the priesthood was in Egypt, celibacy not being enjoined; their property is also hereditary, and they possess other immunities. The latter order is frequently augmented by those who declare that the fetish has suddenly seized or come upon them, and who, after inflicting great severities on themselves, in the manner of the convulsionists, are ultimately acknowledged. The fetish women, generally preferred for medical aid, as they possess a thorough knowledge of barks and herbs, deleterious and sanative, closely resemble the second class of Druidesses as described, I think by Mela: they seem licensed prostitutes, before and after marriage.

The present state of these people, referring them to a comparison with the nations of ancient Europe,[2] the close resemblance of many points of their superstition to relative particulars recorded of Greece and Gaul, recalls the following reflection of an eminent writer:—"The truth is, there is hardly anything more surprising in the history of mankind, than the similitude, or rather identity, of the opinions, institutions, and manners of all these orders of ancient priests, though they lived under such different climates, and at so great a distance from one another, without intercourse or communication. This amounts to a demonstration that all

[2] "And here I cannot but remark that those accounts, when compared, show how little manners and minds improve in Africa, and how long and how much society has been there at a stand:—Jobson saw in 1620 exactly what Park saw in 1798."—*Sir W. Young.*

these opinions and institutions flowed originally from one fountain."

Half the offerings to the fetish are pretended to be thrown into the river, the other half belongs to the priests. The King's offering is generally ten ounces, and three or four slaves; that of a poor subject about four ackies. Children are frequently vowed to the service of the fetish before their birth. A slave flying to the temple may dash or devote himself to the fetish; but, by paying a fee of two ounces of gold and four sheep, any person shuts the door of the fetish house against all his runaway slaves.[3]

Every family has a variety of domestic fetishes, furnished by the priests, and answering to the Penates of the Romans; some are wooden figures, others of arbitrary shapes and materials; they receive offerings and libations at the yam custom, but are not brought out of the house.[4]

[3] A slave dashing or devoting himself to Checquoo, the great fetish of Ahanta, is never redeemed; the impression of the superior power of that fetish being so awful, that the proprietor of the slave would believe the death of all his family inevitable, were he to redeem him from the sanctuary.

[4] The different states of the water-side revere different animals as fetish: the hyæna is esteemed so at Accra, the alligator at Dix Cove and Annamaboe, and vultures universally; and with more apparent reason, as they consume all the offal of the neighbourhood, and thus contribute to its health and cleanliness. A black man killing a hyæna at Accra, would incur a serious penalty. A European is obliged to pay a case of neat rum and one piece of white baft, in which the head of the animal is wrapped, and afterwards buried by the natives. Almost every resident on the coast can speak to the imitative powers of the hyæna, which Pliny has been ridiculed for reporting. In a fresh water pond at Dix Cove, there is an alligator, about twelve feet long, which always appears on the bank at the call of the fetishmen, who then throw it a white fowl. In a modern natural history, I read, "In this part of the world (Africa) also, as well as at Siam, the crocodile makes an object of savage pomp, near the palaces of their monarchs. Philips informs us, that at Sabi, on

In Ashantee there is not a common fetish day, as on the coast.[5] Different families solemnize different days of the week, by wearing white cloths, abstaining from palm wine and labour, as they do the day of the week on which they were born, which is in fact their second fetish day. The King's family keep Tuesday as their fetish day ; Odumatas, Friday. Saturday was the King's birthday, when, as well as on his fetish day, he always sat on a stool placed before his chair as a footstool would be. Some families never eat beef, others abstain from pork. Fowls and beef are the fetish of the King's family, and consequently never eaten by it.

The Ashantees have their Fasti and Nefasti, or lucky and unlucky days, as the Romans had.[6] The former consecrated by some good fortune, the latter condemned from some national calamity, as Saturday, for instance, from the defeat and death of Saï Tootoo. They are also otherwise marked than by the week ; for I was told that our month of September contained fewer bad days than any other, and was besides deemed auspicious to travelling :—

> "Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna
> Felices operum . . . .
> . . . . nona fugæ melior."—Geor. i.

I have known Ashantees thirty days coming with despatches from Cape Coast Castle to Coomassie in August ; and in September to have arrived in twelve.

the Slave Coast, there are two pools of water near the royal palace, where crocodiles are bred as we breed carp in our ponds in Europe." I never heard of any royal palaces, or of Sabi (probably Assaboo) on the Slave Coast ; the alligator of Dix Cove may possibly be alluded to.

[5] Tuesday is the common fetish day on the coast, when they neither fish nor work in their plantations.

[6] "Ille et nefasto te posuit die."—Hor. 12, 13.
Romani pariter quosdam atros et nefastos habuere, eo quod in iis clades acceperant ; . . .

If the successor to a stool or any rich inheritance is a child, they grind aggry beads into a powder and rub him with it daily after washing, believing that it hastens his growth and maturity. When any one denies a theft, an aggry bead is placed in a small vessel with some water; the person holding it puts his right foot against the right foot of the accused, who invokes the power of the bead to kill him if he is guilty, and then takes it into his mouth with a little of the water, the rest being thrown on the ground, and crossed as he repeats the invocation: their superstition is generally superior to their resolution. I shall be expected to notice these aggry beads.

The natives invariably declare that the aggry beads are found in the Dankara, Akim, Warsaw, Ahanta, and Fantee countries, the greater number in the former being the richer in gold. They say they are directed to dig for them by a spiral vapour issuing from the ground, and that they rarely lay near the surface. The finder is said to be sure of a series of good fortune. The plain aggry beads are blue, yellow, green, or a dull red; the variegated consist of every colour and shade. The Fantees prefer the plain yellow bead; the Amanaheäns the blue and yellow, for which they will give double the weight in gold; those of inferior beauty frequently fetch a large price, from having been worn by some royal or eminent character. Dr. Leydon, who writes, "The aigris is a stone of a greenish-blue colour, supposed to be a species of jasper, small perforated pieces of which, valued at their weight in gold, are used for money" (which I never heard of), rather describes the popo bead, though that is semi-transparent (of a bright blue), resembling carnelian (which is frequently found in these countries), and said to be obtained in the same manner as the aggry bead. Isert writes:— "They are a sort of coral, with inlaid work. The art of making beads is entirely lost, or was never known in these parts. It is not improbable that in the golden age of Egypt

she had communication with the Gold Coast; indeed, it has been thought, and perhaps not without some reason, that the Gold Coast is the Ophir of Solomon."

The variegated strata of the aggry beads are so firmly united and so imperceptibly blended, that the perfection seems superior to art. Some resemble mosaic work; the surfaces of others are covered with flowers and regular patterns, so very minute, and the shades so delicately softened one into the other and into the ground of the bead, that nothing but the finest touch of the pencil could equal them. The agatized parts disclose flowers and patterns, deep in the body of the bead, and thin shafts, of opaque colours, running from the centre to the surface. The natives pretend that imitations are made in the country, which they call boiled beads, alleging that they are broken aggry beads ground into powder and boiled together, and that they know them because they are heavier; but this I find to be mere conjecture among themselves, unsupported by anything like observation or discovery. The natives believe that by burying the aggry beads in sand they not only grow but breed.[7]

[7] The colouring matter of the blue beads has been proved by experiment to be iron; that of the yellow, without doubt, is lead and antimony, with a trifling quantity of copper, though not essential to the production of the colour. The generality of these beads appear to be produced from clays coloured in thin layers, afterwards twisted together into a spiral form and then cut across, also from different coloured clays raked together without blending. How the flowers and delicate patterns, in the body and on the surface of the rarer beads have been produced, cannot be so well explained. Besides the suite deposited in the British Museum, I had the pleasure of presenting one of the most interesting kind to Baron Humboldt; and I have also sent one to Sir Richard Hoare, as it seemed to correspond so closely with the bead which he found in one of the barrows, and describes, as follows, in his "History of Wiltshire." The notion of the rare virtues of the Glain Neidyr, as well as of the continued good fortune of the finder, accords exactly with the African superstitions. "A large glass bead, of the same imperfect petrifaction as the pully beads,

To return to the superstitions of the Ashantees. When they drink they spill a little of the liquor on the ground as an offering to the fetish, and on rising from their chairs or

and resembling also, in matter, the little figures that are found with the mummies in Egypt, and are to be seen in the British Museum." This very curious bead has two circular lines of opaque sky, blue and white, which seem to represent a serpent entwined round a centre, which is perforated. This was certainly one of the Glain Neidyr of the Britons, derived from glain, which is pure and holy, and neidyr a snake. Under the word glain Mr. Owen, in his Welsh Dictionary, has given the following article :—"The Glain Neidyr, transparent stones, or adder stones, were worn by the different orders of the bards, each having its appropriate colour. There is no certainty that they were worn from superstition originally ; perhaps that was the circumstance which gave rise to it. Whatever might have been the cause, the *notion of their rare virtues was universal* in all places where the Bardic religion was taught. It may still be questioned whether they are the production of nature or art." The beads, which are the present object of my attention, are thus noticed by Bishop Gibson in his improved edition of "Camden's Britannia :" "In most parts of Wales, and throughout all Scotland and in Cornwall, we find it a common opinion of the vulgar, that about Midsummer eve (although in the time they do not all agree), it is usual for snakes to meet in companies ; and that by joining heads together, and hissing, a kind of bubble is formed like a ring about the head of one of them, which the rest, by continual hissing, blow on till it comes off at the tail ; and then it immediately hardens and resembles a glass ring, *which whoever finds (as some old women and children are persuaded) shall prosper in all their undertakings.* The rings which they suppose to be thus generated are called Gleinu Nadroedh, i. e. Gemmæ Anguinum, whereof I have seen at several places about twenty or thirty. They are small glass annulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger rings, but much thicker ; of a green colour usually, though some of them are blue, and others curiously waved with blue, red, and white. I have also seen two or three earthen rings of this kind, but glazed with blue, and adorned with transverse streaks in furrows on the outside. There seems to be some connexion between the Glain Neidyr of the Britons and the Ovum Anguinum mentioned by Pliny,[8] as being held in vene-

[8] "Præterea est ovorum genus in magna Galliarum fama, omissum Græcis. Angues innumeri æstate convoluti, salivis faucium, corporumque spumis artifici complexu glomerantur, anguinum appellantur.

stools their attendants instantly lay them on their sides to prevent the devil (whom they represent to be white) from slipping into their master's places.

ration by the Druids of Gaul, and to the formation of which he gives nearly the same origin. They were probably worn as an insignia or mark of distinction and suspended around the neck, as the perforation is not sufficiently large to admit the finger."

The glass globes dug up in Lincolnshire, and presented by Sir Joseph Banks to the British Museum, are very like a distinct sort of aggry bead, dug by the natives even more rarely than the others, but not larger than a moderate-sized apple. They are more opaque than the other beads, and the ground or body is generally black, speckled confusedly with red, white, and yellow.

Aggry is the generic, not the abstract name; "*awynnee*" is *bead*, but aggry is an exotic word no native can explain. When first I heard of similar beads having been lately dug up in India, I associated for an instant the expectation that it might have been in the neighbourhood of Agra, and thus have thrown some light on the name, but it appears they were found in Malabar. I am indebted for the following account of this interesting discovery to a gentleman lately returned from India:—"The bead you sent me is more like those I saw in India than any I have seen before; but it is thicker and shorter, neither does the material of which it is formed exactly agree with those in India, which appear to be of a red glass, very like red carnelian (such, however, are frequent among the Aggry beads) with white lines of enamel, inlaid, as it were, in the body of the bead. I gave these to a friend in India who promised to send them to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The circles of stone in which these beads have been found abound most in Malabar, in the neighbourhood of Calicut; but I have seen them in other parts of India, and I am of opinion that they might be traced throughout the whole of the southern peninsula. They are formed of large masses of rough stones, placed round in irregular circles, some of very large ex-

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Druidæ sibilis id dicunt in sublime jactari, sagoque oportere intercipi ne tellurem attingat. Profugere raptorem equo. Serpentes enim insequi donec arceant amnis alicujus interventu. Experimentum ejus esse si contra aquas fluitet vel auro cinctum Insigne Druidis. Ad victorias litium ac regum aditus maxime laudat."—Plinii Hist. Natural. L. 29. c. 3.

But the most surprising superstition of the Ashantees is their confidence in the fetishes or saphies they purchase so extravagantly from the Moors, believing firmly that they

tent, some of smaller. They appear so much like natural rocks that most persons would pass them unobserved. Several of these circles about three years since were excavated in the vicinity of Calicut, and in the centre of each of them we found, at the depth of about five feet, a large earthen jar of the same shape as those found in Wiltshire, as near as we could judge, for it was broken to pieces. It was about four or five feet deep ; its mouth in general closed with a square piece of granite. The beads were found at the bottom of these jars with some pieces of iron, apparently parts of swords and spears. There was an iron javelin found in one of these places tolerably perfect. It was about five feet long, with a large iron knob at one end of it. In the centre of one of the circles we came to a flight of seven steps, which led to a cave excavated in the rock. It measured eleven feet in diameter and seven feet in its highest part. The entrance to it was a square opening of about eighteen inches, which was closed up by an immense block of granite. We found in this place a great number of earthen pots of very curious shape. In one of these there were the remains of bones, which appeared to have been but imperfectly calcined. In several of the larger jars there were the husks of rice, which dropped into dust immediately they were opened. We found here also an iron tripod and a very curious stone, somewhat similar to what the Indians now use for grinding their curry powder on. The large stones forming the circles were set upright and capped with still larger ones. They are not of granite but of the stone of the country in which they are situated. They are of different sizes. I have seen some of them ten or twelve feet high, and the large stone on the top from ten to twelve feet in diameter, or perhaps more. Coimbatore is a district situated between the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. It is bounded on the east by the river Cavery, on the banks of which the tumuli are in general situated. In some a few silver coins have been found of a square figure, with characters on them, which none of the most learned Brahmins have been as yet able to make out. It is in these also that remains of very large swords, &c., have been found. The Roman coins, to the number of upwards of ninety were all of gold, and Nero's. Each of them had a cut or slit in it. They were not found in one of these barrows, but were discovered in a garden by one of the natives when digging. They were in a small copper pot. Pandu Kuri literally means Pandu's caves or holes. Pandu is a very

make them invulnerable and invincible in war, paralyze the hand of the enemy, shiver their weapons, divert the course of balls, render both sexes prolific, and avert all evils but sickness (which they can only assuage) and natural death. The King gave to the King of Dagwumba for the fetish or war coat of Apokoo the value of thirty slaves, for Odumata's twenty, for Adoo Quamina's thirteen, for Akimpon's twelve, for Akimponteä's nine, and for those of greater captains in proportion. The generals, being always in the rear of the army, are pretty sure to escape—a circumstance much in favour of the Moors. This dress, which has been described before in our entrée, is so weighty that old Odumata could scarcely move in his. Jannequin, who visited Mandingo in 1637, describes exactly the same sort of dress as worn by the chiefs of that country, and adds: "Their bodies are so encumbered with these defences, that they are often unable to mount on horseback without assistance." For a small fetish of about six lines, sewn in a case of red cloth, which the King presented to our Accra linguist, Baba charged and received six ackies. The man valued the gift highly; he had expended two pieces of cloth and a quantity of rum in fetish at Accra before he joined the mission, but for which, he told me, he was convinced the Ashantees would have managed to poison him; yet he was one of the most sensible natives I ever conversed with. A sheet of paper would support an inferior Moor in Coomassie for a month. Several of the Ashantee captains offered seriously to let us fire at them; in short, their confidence in these fetishes is almost as incredible as the despondency and panic imposed on their southern and western enemies by the recollection of them.

celebrated personage in the Hindoo Mythology and a great warrior. It is common in India to ascribe to him all great works of antiquity. This term, therefore, only shows that those places are very ancient, and that the present inhabitants are quite ignorant of their origin."

They impel the Ashantees, fearless and headlong, to the most daring enterprises; they dispirit their adversaries almost to the neglect of an interposition of fortune in their favour. The Ashantees believe that the constant prayers of the Moors, who have persuaded them that they converse with the Deity, invigorate themselves and gradually waste the spirit and strength of their enemies. This faith is not less impulsive than that which achieved the Arabian conquests.

Neither the Ashantees nor their neighbours have any tradition of a deluge, nor does Catcott, the only writer I recollect to have read on its universality, report any negro tradition, though he submits that of the American tribes, with those of the other nations of the world. The Moors told me that the waters of the deluge retired to and were absorbed in the Lake Caudi, or Caughi, which they also called Bahar Noohoo, or the Sea of Noah.

Amongst other observations, I recollect the Moors to have said, that Moses spoke like God, that Abraham was the friend of God, that Jesus was a spirit of God, but that Mahomet was the best beloved of God. They added, that there were four books written by the inspiration of God, at different times. Moses wrote Tauratoo; David, Zaboura; Jesus, Lingheel; and Mahomet, Al Koran. Lightning, they said, was occasioned by God waving his hand to direct the courses of his angels. One Moor was a great etymologist; he told me, that Mahomet rushing between two armies, who were fighting, exclaimed to one party, "Toorek! Toorek!" (Leave off! Leave off!) and that those people were thenceforward called Turks. I questioned them concerning the origin of nations; they told me, that Japhet was the most active in covering the nakedness of his father, which Ham discovered, and thence the subjection of black men the descendants of Ham, to Europeans the descendants of Japhet. Shem, from whom they were themselves descended, they said, was

neither so good nor so bad as his brothers, and therefore his children enjoyed a medium of endowment and favour. They augured from the sacrifice of sheep, with which the King supplied them abundantly, and, excepting those who had made a pilgrimage to Mecca (of which they told us wonderful tales), did not hesitate mingling the superstitions of the natives with their own, either for their profit or safety. They were tolerably expert in sleight-of-hand tricks.

CUSTOMS.

THE Yam Custom is annual, just at the maturity of that vegetable, which is planted in December, and not eaten until the conclusion of the custom, the early part of September. All the caboceers and captains, and the majority of the tributaries, are enjoined to attend, none being excused but such as the Kings of Inta and Dagwumba (who send deputations of their principal caboceers), and those who have been despatched elsewhere on public business. If a chief or caboceer has offended, or if his fidelity be suspected, he is seldom accused or punished until the Yam Custom, which they attend frequently unconscious, and always uncertain of what may be laid to their charge. The Yam Custom is like the Saturnalia; neither theft, intrigue, nor assault are punishable during the continuance, but the grossest liberty prevails, and each sex abandons itself to its passions.

On Friday, the 5th of September, the number, splendour, and variety of arrivals, thronging from the different paths, was as astonishing as entertaining; but there was an alloy in the gratification, for the principal caboceers sacrificed a slave at each quarter of the town on their entrée.

In the afternoon of Saturday, the King received all the caboceers and captains in the large area, where the Dankara canons are placed. The scene was marked with all the splendour of our own entrée, and many additional novelties.

The crush in the distance was awful and distressing. All the heads of the Kings and caboceers whose kingdoms had been conquered, from Saï Tootoo to the present reign, with those of the chiefs who had been executed for subsequent revolts, were displayed by two parties of executioners, each upwards of a hundred, who passed in an impassioned dance, some with the most irresistible grimace, some with the most frightful gesture: they clashed their knives on the skulls, in which sprigs of thyme were inserted, to keep the spirits from troubling the King. I never felt so grateful for being born in a civilized country. Firing and drinking palm wine were the only divertissements to the ceremony of the caboceers presenting themselves to the King; they were announced, and passed all round the circle saluting every umbrella: their bands preceded; we reckoned above forty drums in that of the King of Dwabin. The effect of the splendour, the tumult, and the musketry, was afterwards heightened by torchlight. We left the ground at ten o'clock; the umbrellas were crowded even in the distant streets, the town was covered like a large fair, the broken sounds of distant horns and drums filled up the momentary pauses of the firing which encircled us: the uproar continued until four in the morning, just before which the King retired.

The next morning the King ordered a large quantity of rum to be poured into brass pans, in various parts of the town; the crowd pressing around, and drinking like hogs; freemen and slaves, women and children, striking, kicking, and trampling each other under foot, pushed head foremost into the pans, and spilling much more than they drank. In less than an hour, excepting the principal men, not a sober person was to be seen, parties of four, reeling and rolling under the weight of another, whom they affected to be carrying home; strings of women covered with red paint, hand in hand, falling down like rows of cards; the commonest

mechanics and slaves furiously declaiming on state palavers; the most discordant music, the most obscene songs, children of both sexes prostrate in insensibility. All wore their handsomest cloths, which they trailed after them to a great length, in a drunken emulation of extravagance and dirtiness.[1]

Towards evening the populace grew sober again, the strange caboceers displayed their equipages in every direction, and at five o'clock there was a procession from the palace to the south end of the town and back; the King and the dignitaries were carried in their hammocks, and passed through a continued blaze of musketry: the crush was dreadful. The next day (Monday) was occupied in state palavers, and on Tuesday the diet broke up, and most of the caboceers took leave.

About a hundred persons, mostly culprits reserved, are generally sacrificed in different quarters of the town at this custom. Several slaves were also sacrificed at Bantama, over the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matter within (fresh and putrefied), to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All the chiefs kill several slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed and place it on the hole.[2]

[1] The description of the siege of Pondicherry in Voltaire occurred to me; it will assist the imagination of the reader:—"De grands magasins de liqueurs fortes y entretenaient l'ivrognerie et tous les maux dont elle est le germe. C'est une situation qu'il faut avoir vue. Les travaux, les gardes de la tranchée étaient faits par des hommes ivres. . . . . De-là les scènes les plus honteuses et les plus destructives de la subordination et de la discipline. On a vu des officiers se colleter avec des soldats et mille autres actions infâmes, dont le détail, renfermé dans les bornes de la vérité la plus exacte, paraîtrait une exagération monstreuse."

[2] In Ahanta, at the Contoom or Harvest Custom, each family erects its rude altar, composed of four sticks driven in the ground and twigs

The royal gold ornaments are melted down every Yam Custom, and fashioned into new patterns as novel as possible. This is a piece of state policy very imposing on the populace, and the tributary chiefs who pay but an annual visit.

About ten days after the custom, the whole of the royal household eat new yam for the first time in the market-place, the King attending. The next day he and the captains set off for Sarrasoo before sunrise, to perform their annual ablutions in the river Dah; almost all the inhabitants follow him, and the capital appears deserted. The succeeding day the King washes in the marsh at the south-east end of the town, the captains lining the streets leading to it on both sides. He is attended by his suite, but he laves the water with his own hands over himself, his chairs, stools, gold and silver plate, and the various articles of furniture used especially by him. Several brass pans are covered with white cloth, with various fetish under them. About twenty sheep are dipped (one sheep and one goat only are sacrificed at the time), to be killed in the palace in the afternoon, that their blood may be poured on the stools and door-posts. All the doors, windows, and arcades of the palace are plentifully besmeared with a mixture of eggs and palm oil; as also the stools of the different tribes and families. After the ceremony of washing is over, the principal captains precede the King to the palace, where, contrary to usual custom, none but those of the first rank are allowed to enter, to see

laid across the top, the whole is then covered with fresh-pulled leaves. A hog, a sheep, a goat, or a fowl is killed, according to the means of the family, and the most delicate parts laid on the altar. A mixture is made of eggs, palm oil, palm wine, the blood of the animal slain, and other ingredients, and also dedicated to the fetish, in small pots placed on the altar. In a few days these altars become so offensive as to render it disagreeable to pass them, but they are never removed.

the procession pass. The King's fetish men walk first, with attendants holding basins of sacred water, which they sprinkle plentifully over the chiefs with branches,[3] the more superstitious running to have a little poured on their heads, and even on their tongues. The King and his attendants all wear white cloths on this occasion. Three white lambs are led before him, intended for sacrifice at his bedchamber. All his wives follow, with a guard of archers.

Another national custom is the Adaï, by the number of which the Ashantees appear to reckon their year, which began, I could not understand why, on the first of October. The common people pretend, or believe, that the time for repeating the Adaï is marked by the falling of a fruit like a gourd, from a tree called Brebretim, and which generally takes place in about twenty days from its first appearance, all the birds and beasts in the neighbourhood crying out simultaneously. They further pretend, that from the fruit of this tree spring various kinds of vegetables. This account of the tree, known in Warsaw as well, is peculiar to Ashantee. The customs are alternately called the great and little Adaï, the former taking place always on a Sunday, the latter on a Wednesday; and it appeared to me, from calculation, that there were six weeks between each great Adaï, and six between each little one, so that the custom was generally held every twenty-one days.

The large drum which stands at the entrance of the palace, adorned with skulls and thigh bones, is struck with great force at sunset the preceding day as a signal; the whole of the establishment of the palace shout, and their shout is echoed by the people throughout the town. Music and firing generally beguile the night. The next morning the King goes to the fetish house (Himma), opposite the

[3] "Idem ter socios purâ circumtulit undâ,
Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivæ."—Æn. vi.

palace, and offers several sheep; the blood of this sacrifice is poured on the gold stool, to which extraordinary virtues are ascribed, being considered the palladium of the kingdom: the deposition of Saï Quamina was protracted from his having it in his possession at Dwabin. The caboceers and captains, many coming from towns two or three days' distant, begin to march to the large yard of the palace about sunrise to secure their places; we generally attended between nine and ten, when the King had just seated himself. The first ceremony was penetrating to the King, through the various state officers and attendants, to wish him good morning, at which he slightly inclined his head. The chiefs, as they advanced to do so, were supported and followed by a few favourite attendants, who flourished their swords in the air, the gold handles upwards, and the band of each began to play as he left his seat. Young caboceers, of five and six years of age, stalked by with interesting vanity. After this the King left his chair, which was turned upside down, and retired a few minutes into the palace. All the horns flourished as he made his exit and entrée; swords, feathers, elephants' tails, were waved rapidly, and the drums beaten with deafening effect. After he was seated, the linguists, preceded by their gold canes and insignia, presented a sheep, a flask of rum (drunk on the ground), and ten ackies of gold to each superior captain, and somewhat less to the others. Another flourish proclaimed the dispensation of the King's bounty; five or six men then rose, and chanted his deeds and titles for about ten minutes. I regret exceedingly that this chant was not noted, it was so harmonious. I observed them put something between their teeth before they began. The same tedious form of saluting the King was now repeated to return thanks. Any new law was afterwards promulgated, which occurred but twice during our stay, and the levée broke up on the King's leaving his chair. Not unfrequently

the whole took place during heavy rain. It was computed that the King dashed or presented forty pereguins of gold (£400) every Adaï custom.[4]

The decease of a person is announced by a discharge of musketry, proportionate to his rank, or the wealth of his family. In an instant you see a crowd of slaves burst from the house and run towards the bush, flattering themselves that the hindmost, or those surprised in the house, will furnish the human victims for sacrifice, if they can but secrete themselves until the custom is over. The body is then handsomely dressed in silk and gold, and laid out on the bed, the richest cloths beside it.[5] One or two slaves are then sacrificed at the door of the house. I shall describe the custom for Quatchie Quofie's mother, which we witnessed August the 2nd; it was by no means a great one, but it will give the most correct idea of these splendid but barbarous ceremonies. The King, Quatchie Quofie, and Odumata each sacrificed a young girl directly the deceased had breathed her last, that she might not want for attendants until the

[4] The Ahantas divide time into periods of three weeks. The first week is called Adaï, and is termed the good week, in which much work is done, and traders visit the markets more frequently in this week than at any other time, supposing all they do in it must prosper. The second week is Ajamfoe, or the bad week, in which no work or trade is done, the natives believing everything undertaken in it must fail. The third week is Adim, or the little good week, in which they both work and trade, but not as much as in the Adaï.

[5] "... Tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
Conjiciunt."—Æn. VI.

In Fantee they dress the body richly, and usually prop it erect in a chair, exposing it until it is dangerous to do so any longer. They bury it in their house, with as many gold ornaments as they can afford to dedicate. The men called the town drummers are only allowed to die standing, and when expiring are snatched up and supported in that posture. In Ahanta they frequently exhibit the body chalked all over.

greater sacrifice was made. The retainers, adherents, and friends of the family, then sent contributions of gold, powder, rum, and cloth, to be expended at the custom; the King, as heir, exceeding every quota but that of the nearest relative, who succeeded to the stool and slaves. The King also sent a sum of gold, and some rich cloths to be buried with the deceased, in the basket or coffin. I could not learn the various sums of gold-dust with sufficient accuracy to note them, but the following were the quantities of powder presented on the occasion :—

Quatchie Quofie . .	20	oz. (of gold)	kegs.
King	4	„	„
King's brother . . .	2	„	„
Amanquateä . . .	2	„	„
Odumata	2	„	„
Apokoo	1	„	„
Otee	1	„	„
Yapensoo	1	„	„
Amanqua Abiniowa (the nephew)	2	„	„
(Name illegible) . . .	1	„	„
Adoosey	1	„	„
Jessinting	1	„	„
Saphoo	1	„	„
Ooshoo	1	„	„
Inferior retainers . .	4	„	„
	44	nearly 12 barrels.	

The inferior retainers of Quatchie Quofie gave four ackies of gold and eight fathoms of cloth each. I was told these contributions were unusually small, from the command of the King that the greatest economy should be observed in every expenditure of powder, on account of the approaching war.

We walked to Assafoo about twelve o'clock; the vultures were hovering around two headless trunks, scarcely cold.

Several troops of women, from fifty to a hundred in each, were dancing by in movements resembling skaiting, lauding and bewailing the deceased in the most dismal, yet not discordant strains; audible, from the vast number, at a considerable distance. Other troops carried the rich cloths and silks of the deceased on their heads, in shining brass pans, twisted and stuffed into crosses, cones, globes, and a fanciful variety of shapes only to be imagined, and imposing at a small distance the appearance of rude deities. The faces, arms, and breasts of these women, were profusely daubed with red earth, in horrid emulation of those who had succeeded in besmearing themselves with the blood of the victims. The crowd was overbearing; horns, drums, and muskets, yells, groans, and screeches, invaded our hearing with as many horrors as were crowded on our sight. Now and then a victim was hurried by, generally dragged or run along at full speed; the uncouth dress, and the exulting countenances of those who surrounded him, likening them to as many fiends. I observed apathy, more frequently than despair or emotion, in the looks of the victims. The chiefs and captains were arriving in all directions, announced by the firing of muskets, and the peculiar flourishes of their horns, many which were by this time familiar to us; they were then habited plainly as warriors, and were soon lost to our sight in the crowd. As old Odumata passed in his hammock, he bade us observe him well when he passed again: this prepared us in a small degree. Presently the King's arrival in the market-place was announced, the crowd rolled towards it impetuously, but the soldiery hacked on all sides indiscriminately, and formed a passage for the procession. Quatchie Quofie hurried by, plunging from side to side like a Bacchanal, drunk with the adulation of his bellowing supporters; his attitudes were responsive to the horror and barbarism of the exultations which inspired them. The victims, with large knives driven

through their cheeks, eyed him with indifference ; he them with a savage joy, bordering on frenzy ; insults were aggravated on the one, flattery lavished on the other. Our disgust was beguiled for an instant by surprise. The chiefs, who had just before passed us in their swarthy cloths, and the dark gloomy habits of war, now followed Quatchie Quofie, glistening in all the splendour of their fetish dresses ; the sprightly variety of their movements ill accorded with the ceremony. Old Odumata's vest was covered with fetish, cased invariably in gold or silver. A variety of extraordinary ornament and novel insignia courted and reflected the sun in every direction : it was like a splendid pantomime after a Gothic tragedy.

We followed to the market-place. The King, and the chiefs not immediately connected with Quatchie Quofie, were seated under their canopies, with the usual insignia and retinue, and lined about the half of a circle, apparently half a mile in circumference ; the soldiery completed it, their respective chiefs situated amongst them. Thirteen victims, surrounded by their executioners, whose black shaggy caps and vests gave them the appearance of bears rather than men, were pressed together by the crowd to the left of the King. The troops of women, before described, paraded without the circle, vociferating the dirge. Rum and palm wine were flowing copiously, horns and drums were exerted even to frenzy. In an instant there was a burst of musketry near the King, and it spread and continued incessantly around the circle for upwards of an hour. The soldiers kept their stations, but the chiefs, after firing, bounded once round the area with the gesture and extravagance of madmen ; their panting followers enveloping them in flags, occasionally firing in all the attitudes of a scaramouch, and incessantly bellowing the strong names of their exulting chief, whose musket they snatched from his hands directly he had fired. An old hag,

described as the head fetish woman of the family, screamed and plunged about in the midst of the fire as if in the greatest agonies. The greater the chief the heavier the charge of powder he is allowed to fire; the heaviest charge recollected, was that fired by the King on the death of his sister, eighteen ackies, or an ounce avoirdupois. Their blunderbusses and long guns were almost all braced closely with the cordage of the country; they were generally supported by their attendants whilst they fired, several did not appear to recover it for nearly a minute; Odumata's old frame seemed shaken almost to dissolution. Many made a point of collecting near us, just within the circle, and firing as close as possible to startle us; the frequent bursting of their muskets made this rather alarming as well as disagreeable. The firing abated, they drank freely from the bowls of palm wine, religiously pouring a small quantity on the ground before they raised them to their lips.[6]

The principal females of the family, many of them very handsome and of elegant figures, came forward to dance, dressed generally in yellow silk, with a silver knife hung by a chain round their necks; one with a gold, another with a silver horn; a few were dressed as fetish women; an umbrella was held over the granddaughter as she danced. The Ashantees dance incomparably better than the people of the water-side, indeed elegantly; the sexes do not dance sepa-

[6] "Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
Fundit humi."—Æn. v.

Οἶνον δ' ἐκ δεπάων χαμάδις χέον, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
Πρὶν πιέειν, πρὶν λεῖψαι ὑπερμενέϊ Κρονίωνι.—Ομηρ. η.

The Ashantees do so not only on solemn occasions but invariably; and it would seem that the Greeks did from the following words of Hecuba to Hector:—

Ἀλλὰ μέν', ὄφρα κέ τοι μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐνείκω,
Ὡς σπείσῃς Διὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
Πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δέ κ' αὐτὸς ὀνήσεαι, αἴ κε πίῃσθα.—Ομηρ. ζ.

rately, as in Fantee, but the man encircles the woman with a piece of silk, which he generally flirts in his right hand, supports her round the waist, receives her elbows in the palms of his hands, and a variety of figures approximating, with the time and movement, very closely to the waltz.

A dash of sheep and rum was exchanged between the King and Quatchie Quofie, and the drums announced the sacrifice of the victims. All the chiefs first visited them in turn; I was not near enough to distinguish wherefore. The executioners wrangled and struggled for the office, and the indifference with which the first poor creature looked on, in the torture he was from the knife passed through his cheeks, was remarkable. The nearest executioner snatched the sword from the others, the right hand of the victim was then lopped off, he was thrown down, and his head was sawed rather than cut off. It was cruelly prolonged, I will not say wilfully. Twelve more were dragged forward, but we forced our way through the crowd and retired to our quarters. Other sacrifices, principally female, were made in the bush where the body was buried. It is usual to "wet the grave" with the blood of a freeman of respectability. All the retainers of the family being present, and the heads of all the victims deposited in the bottom of the grave, several are unsuspectingly called on in a hurry to assist in placing the coffin or basket, and just as it rests on the heads or skulls a slave from behind stuns one of these freemen by a violent blow, followed by a deep gash in the back part of the neck, and he is rolled in on the top of the body, and the grave instantly filled up. A sort of carnival, varied by firing, drinking, singing, and dancing, was kept up in Assafoo for several days; the chiefs generally visiting it every evening, or sending their linguists with a dash of palm wine or rum to Quatchie Quofie; and I was given to understand, that, but for the approaching war and the necessary economy of

powder, there would have been eight great customs instead of one, for this woman, one weekly, the King himself firing at at the last. The last day all the females in any way connected with the family (who are not allowed to eat for three days after the death, though they may drink as much palm wine as they please), paraded round the town, singing a compliment and thanks to all those who had assisted in making the custom.

On the death of a king, all the customs which have been made for the subjects who have died during his reign must be simultaneously repeated by the families (the human sacrifices as well as the carousals and pageantry) to amplify that for the monarch, which is also solemnized, independently, but at the same time in every excess of extravagance and barbarity. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the King, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously amongst the crowd; even a man of rank, if they meet him, is their victim, nor is their murder of him or any other, on such an occasion, visited or prevented; the scene can scarcely be imagined. Few persons of rank dare to stir from their houses for the first two or three days, but religiously drive forth all their vassals and slaves, as the most acceptable composition of their own absence. The King's Ocras, who will be mentioned presently, are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance. I was assured by several, that the custom for Saï Quamina was repeated weekly for three months, and that 200 slaves were sacrificed, and twenty-five barrels of powder fired each time. But the custom for the King's mother, the regent of the kingdom during the invasion of Fantee, is most celebrated. The King of himself devoted 3000 victims (upwards of 2000 of whom were Fantee prisoners) and twenty-five barrels of powder.[7]

[7] Suetonius tells us that Augustus sacrificed 300 of the principal

Dwabin, Kokoofoo, Becqua, Soota, and Marmpong, furnished 100 victims, and twenty barrels of powder each; and most of the smaller towns ten victims, and two barrels of powder each. The Kings, and Kings only, are buried in the cemetery at Bantama, and the sacred gold buried with them. (See Laws.) Their bones are afterwards deposited in a building there, opposite to which is the largest brass pan I ever saw (for sacrifices), being about five feet in diameter, with four small lions on the edge. Here human sacrifices are frequent and ordinary, to water the graves of the Kings. The bodies of chiefs are frequently carried about with the army, to keep them for interment at home, and eminent revolters or enemies also, to be exposed in the capital. Boiteäm (the father of Otee, the fourth linguist), who accompanied the army of Abiniowa in his political capacity, dying at Akrofroom in Aquapim during the campaign, his body was kept with the army two months before it arrived at Coomassie. I could not get any information on their treatment of the corpse, beyond their invariable reply that they smoked it well over a slow fire.

The laws of Ashantee allow the King 3333 wives, which number is carefully kept up, to enable him to present women to those who distinguish themselves, but never exceeded, being in their eyes a mystical one. Many of these reside in a secluded part of the King's croom, or country residence, at Barramang; a greater number in a croom at the back of the palace, immediately in the marsh; and the remainder in two streets of the capital. Many, probably, the King has never seen. The streets as well as the croom are inhabited by them exclusively, and never approached but by the King's messengers, or their female relatives, who only communicate

citizens of Perusia to the manes of his uncle Julius. We read in Prevost that 64,080 persons were sacrificed, with aggravated barbarity, in the dedication of a temple in Mexico.

with them at the entrances, which are closed at each end with bamboo doors, where there is always a guard. If the King *consaws*, or marries an infant at the breast, which is not unfrequent, she is thenceforth confined to the house, and rigorously secluded from the sight of any but the female part of her family. The King has seldom more than six wives resident with him in the palace. On the occasion of signing the treaty, as explained in the public letter, about 300 were assembled, and none but the King's chamberlain, and the deputies of the parts of the Government, were allowed to be present. They were addressed through their own linguist, a very decrepid old man. Many of them were very handsome, and their figures exquisite. When they go out, which is seldom, they are encircled and preceded by troops of small boys with thongs or whips of elephant's hide, who lash every one severely who does not quit their path for another, or jump into the bush with his hands before his eyes; and sometimes the offenders are heavily fined besides. The scrambling their approach occasioned in the more public parts of the city was very diverting—captains, caboceers, slaves, and children tumbling one over another. I was told what it cost the King daily to support them, but it has escaped me; they are said to live as daintily as himself. None but the chief eunuch, an immense creature, is allowed to bear a message to the King when in the seraglio of the palace.

It has been mentioned before, that the King's sisters are not only countenanced in intrigue with any handsome subject, but they are allowed to choose any eminently so (however inferior otherwise), as a husband, who is presently advised by the King of his good fortune: thus they consider they provide for a personal superiority in their monarchs. But if the royal bride dies before the husband, unless his rank be originally elevated, he is expected to kill himself on

the occasion, and also if the only male child dies. If he hesitates, he is peremptorily reminded that as either are his superiors, to whom he is to be considered as a slave, so he must attend them wherever they go; and when a male child is born the father does it homage, and acknowledges his vassalage in the most abject manner.

The Ocras are distinguished by a large circle of gold suspended from the neck; many of them are favourite slaves, many commoners who have distinguished themselves, and who are glad to stake their lives on the King's, to be kept free from palavers and supported by his bounty, which they are entirely; some few are relatives and men of rank. All of the two former classes, excepting only the two or three individuals known to have been entrusted with the King's state secrets, are sacrificed on his tomb. The royal messengers and others of the suite have been described in the processions; they are sometimes fed in the palace, but they have a free seat at the table of every subject.

The King has a troop of small boys, who carry the fetish bows and arrows, and are licensed plunderers; they are so sly and nimble, that it is very diverting to watch them in the market-place, which they infest every morning. Whatever they can carry off is fair game, and cannot be required or recovered; but the loser, if he can catch them before they arrive at the palace, may beat them as severely as he pleases short of mortal injury; however, they bear it as obdurately as young Spartans. Sometimes one party trips up a person with a load of provisions, whilst another scrambles them up. The anxious alarm of the market people, sitting with sticks in their hands, and the comic archness of these boys threading the crowd in all directions, is indescribable. Some of the earliest European travellers in Abyssinia met with a similar troop of royal plunderers, and I believe suffered from them. Our property was always respected by them, but they used to

entertain themselves with mimicking our common expressions and our actions, which they did inimitably. Whilst sketching, they buzzed about me like mosquitoes. The Ashantees are without exception the most surprising mimics I have ever heard. I have known a captain, called Adoo Quamina, repeat a sentence after I had finished it, of at least a dozen words, which he knew nothing about, and had not heard before. The King has a sort of buffoon, whose movements were as irresistibly comic as those of Grimaldi.

The King appeared to have nearly a hundred negroes of different colours, through the shades of red and pink to white; they were collected for state, but were generally disgusting objects, diseased and emaciated; they always seemed as if going to shed their skins, and their eyes blinked in the light, as if it was not their element.

About twenty pots of white soup and twenty pots of black (made with palm nuts) are cooked daily at the palace (besides those for the consumption of the household), for visitors of consequence, and a periguin of gold is given daily to Yokokroko, the chamberlain, for palm wine. This would have appeared too large a sum, had I not witnessed the vast consumption and waste of it; for the vigour of an Ashantee being estimated by the measure of the draught he can drink off, nearly half is generally spilt over his beard, which it is his greatest pride and luxury to draw through his fingers when wet. The King was very proud of the superior length of his beard. A large quantity of palm wine is dashed to the retinues of all the captains attending in the course of the day; much is expended in the almost daily ceremony of drinking it in state in the market-place, and our party was always well provided for in the course of the evening. The palm wine at the palace was seldom good, but a zest was excited by the exquisite polish of the plate in which it was

served. Apokoo, Odumata, and others, sent us some daily that was excellent.

It is to be observed that the King's weights are one-third heavier than the current weights of the country; and all the gold expended in provision being weighed out in the former, and laid out in the latter, the difference enriches the chamberlain, cook, and chief domestic officers of the palace, as it is thought derogatory to a King avowedly to pay his subjects for their services. In the same manner the linguists derive the greater part of their incomes (their influence being occasionally purchased), for all the dashes or presents of gold the King makes in the year are weighed out by the royal weights, and re-weighed by them in the current ones. The law allows a debtor to recover of a reluctant or tardy creditor, in the King's weights, besides the interest (noticed in the laws), if he is esteemed enough by Apokoo the treasurer to be trusted with them; or rather, if he can afford to bribe him, or engages to share the profit with him.

After a subject is executed for crime, the body and head are carried out of the town by some of the King's slaves appointed for that purpose, and thrown where the wild beasts may devour them; but if the deceased be of any consequence, some of his friends conceal themselves near where they know the body will be carried, and purchase it, and the right of burial, of these domestics, generally for eight ackies. There are a number of fine large sheep, decorated with bells and other ornaments, about the palace. If any person gets into an ordinary palaver, and wishes the King's interference in his favour, he goes to the captain who has the charge of these sheep, pays him twenty ackies for one, and sends or takes it to the King as a dash, who commits it again to the care of the captain.

When the King sends an ambassador, he enriches the splendour of his suite and attire as much as possible; some-

times provides it entirely; but it is all surrendered on the return (except the additional wives), and forms a sort of public state wardrobe. The King's system of espionage is much spoken of (for its address and infallibility) by Apokoo and others, who abet it. A shrewd but mean boy is attached to or follows the embassy (sometimes with a trader), in the commonest capacity and meanest attire; and he is instructed to collect every report as he passes, and to watch the motions of the embassy as closely as possible. As the extortions of these deputies are always loudly and publicly complained of by the injured inhabitants of the dependent or tributary crooms they pass through (perhaps being aware they will reach the King's ears), the particulars are easily acquired. The messengers who were sent with our first despatches to Cape Coast, excusing the length of the time (forty days), by alleging that it was found necessary to collect a session of the Fantee caboceers at Paintree, the King replied, "You tell me a lie; you fined a captain there four ounces for breaking an Ashantee law, and you waited to procure and expend the gold, not intending it should be known." The men instantly confessed and were put in irons; one was the brother of Yokokroko, who paid six ounces for his release after several days.

When the King spits, the boys with the elephants' tails sedulously wipe it up or cover it with sand; when he sneezes, every person present touches or lays the two first fingers across the forehead and breast, as the Moors did when they pronounced a blessing, and the Ashantees, invariably, to propitiate one. These troops of boys who carry the elephants' tails are the sons of men of rank and confidence; for whenever the King dignifies a deserving subject with what may be termed nobility, he exchanges some of his own sons or nephews (from eight to fourteen years of age) for those of the individual who maintains them, and for whom they perform the same offices as his own and others do for the King. Thus the present

King (the short reign of his brother Saï Apokoo being unanticipated) carried an elephant's tail before Apokoo, whose kindness and indulgence to the child secured the preference of the monarch.

It is a frequent practice of the King's to consign sums of gold to the care of rising captains, without requiring them from them for two or three years, at the end of which time he expects the captain not only to restore the principal, but to prove that he has acquired sufficient of his own from the use of it, to support the greater dignity the King would confer on him. If he has not, his talent is thought too mean for further elevation. Should he have no good traders amongst his dependents (for if he has there is no difficulty), usury and worse resources are countenanced, and thought more creditable than a failure, ascribed to want of talent rather than to a regard of principle.

The fees to the King's household, on a captain being raised to a stool, are generally eight ounces. I saw two instances of the King paying them himself; the individuals, very suddenly elevated for extraordinary courage, being too poor to do so. They were immediately despatched to collect tributes, the percentage on which (see Laws), and the douceurs, which may be judged of by the amount provided for them in the settlement of the Commenda palaver, would possess them of a good sum to begin with.

The interference of Amanquateä, Quatchie Quofie, Odumata, and Apokoo, is purchased at a most extravagant rate by offenders, whether foreigners or subjects; it is irresistible with the King; Apokoo is generally preferred; minor influence is purchased in proportion. No subject can sit in public with a cushion on his stool, unless it has been presented to him by the King or one of the four, who, as well as all the other superior captains, receive a periguin of gold for every oath the King exacts of them.

During the minority, or the earlier part of the reign of a monarch, the linguists and oldest counsellors visit him betimes every morning, and repeat in turn all the great deeds of his ancestors. The greatest deference seemed to be paid to aged experience or wisdom.

Apokoo is the keeper of the royal treasury, and has the care of all the tributes, which are deposited separately in a large apartment of the palace, of which he only has the key. Numerous and various as the sums are, he disposes of them by a local association which is said to be infallible with him, for the Moorish secretary (who resided some time at Hio) only records the greater political events. Apokoo holds a sort of exchequer court at his own house daily (when he is attended by two of the King's linguists, and various state insignia), to decide all cases affecting tribute or revenue, and the appeal to the King is seldom resorted to. He generally reclined on his lofty bed (of accumulated cushions, and covered with a large rich cloth or piece of silk), with two or three of his handsomest wives near him whilst the pleadings were going forward. He was always much gratified when I attended, and rose to seat me beside him. I observed that all calculations were made, explained, and recorded by cowries. In one instance, after being convinced by a variety of evidence that a public debtor was unable to pay gold, he commuted sixteen ounces of gold for twenty men slaves. Several captains, who were his followers, attended this court daily with large suites, and it was not only a crowded but frequently a splendid scene. Before the footoorh or treasury bag is unlocked by the weigher, though it be by the King's order, Apokoo must strike it with his hand in sanction.

In all public trials, the charges are preferred, in outline, against the criminal by the King's linguists, and he is always heard fully, and obliged to commit or exculpate himself on every point, and to take the various primary oaths before the

witnesses are confronted with him, of whom he is kept as ignorant as possible until the moment of their appearance. The oaths, sometimes four or five, are progressive, generally beginning by the King's foot or some arbitrary form, and are, apparently, not considered awful or decisive, such perjuries being commutable by fine. But when the oath, "By the King's father," is administered, every one looks serious, and if "By Cormantee and Saturday" (see History) is resorted to, there is a gloomy silence; but this is seldom ventured, if the witnesses, hurried in with a sort of stage effect between that and the former oaths, confound or perplex the accused.

There are various ways of taking fetish; the two I observed were licking a white fowl twice or thrice, and drinking a nauseous vegetable juice without coughing: it was administered by the linguists out of a brass pan in a folded leaf of the plant. If the accused is cleared, he comes forward and is marked with white chalk by the linguists, after which he bows to and thanks all the great men in the council. Taking doom is the infallible test, when they consider the case to be too doubtful for human decision. The bark of that tree is put into a large calabash with water, so as to make a strong infusion; it is stirred up whilst the suspected parties sip in turn. It operates instantaneously and convulsively, as a most violent emetic and purge; those who sip first may recover, and the dregs are frequently left designedly for the obnoxious.[8]

The criers, upwards of a hundred, who always attend the linguists, are all deformed or maimed, to make them more conspicuous; they wear a monkey-skin cap, with a gold plate in front, and the tail hanging down behind. Their common

[8] In the Warsaw country there is said to be a more dreadful poison called Sabë. If it is thrown upon the skin it is absorbed by the pores, and has nearly the same instantaneous mortal effect as when given internally.

exclamations are, Tehoo ! Tehing ! Odiddee ! Be silent ! Be quiet ! Pray hear ! And these are so incessantly uttered, that they are themselves the only interruption.

A general is appointed to the command of an army, by receiving a gold-handled sword of the King's from his hand (who strikes him gently with it three times on the head), swearing to return it encrusted with the blood of his conquered enemies.

One of the King's linguists always accompanies an army of any consequence, to whom all the politics of the war are entrusted, and whose talent and intelligence in negotiating are expected to mature the fruits of the military genius of the general, and to reimburse the expense of the war by heavy fines and contributions. The Ashantees are as superior in discipline as in courage to the people of the water-side, though their discipline is limited to the following precautions. They never pursue when it is near sunset; the general is always in the rear; the secondary captains lead the soldiers on, whilst those in command, with a few chosen individuals, urge them forward from the rear with their heavy swords, and cut any man down who retreats until the case is desperate. The first object of the Ashantee in close fight is to fire and spring upon the throat of his enemy; to advance every time he fires he feels to be imperative, if his commander thinks it possible, who would otherwise, if he escaped death in the action, inflict it on him directly it was over. It is one of the sentences of the most popular song in Coomassie, "If I fight I die, if I run away I die, better I go on and die." They are as the ancient Spaniards have been described, "Prodiga gens animæ et properare facillima mortem." The general has his umbrella spread in the rear, and, besides his guard, has several extra muskets ready loaded for those soldiers who may be driven to him in case of reverse. His band plays all the time, and in his assumed contempt for the enemy, it is the etiquette for

him to divert himself at some game, whilst the heads of the slain of any rank in the hostile army are sent to him to put his foot on. When the result of an important action is expected, even with an anxiety by no means sanguine, and the messengers are known to be near the capital, the King is always seated in public, with his golden worra board before him, playing with some dignitary; and thus receives the news, to impress the people with confidence by his affected indifference to victory or defeat, when superstition had revealed and fated inevitable success ultimately.

All the superior captains have peculiar flourishes or strains for their horns, adapted to short sentences, which are always recognized, and will be repeated on inquiry by any Ashantee you may meet walking in the streets, though the horns are not only out of sight, but at a distance to be scarcely audible. These flourishes are of a strong and distinct character. The King's horns uttered, "I pass all Kings in the world." Apokoo's, "Ashantees, do you do right now?" Gimma's, "Whilst I live no harm can come." Bundahenna's, "I am a great King's son." Amanqua's, "No one dares trouble me." This will be farther noticed in the chapter on Music. These peculiar flourishes are more particularly for their government in action; for all the soldiery, indeed I might say all the women and children, being familiar with every flourish, the positions of the various chiefs are judged of when they cannot be seen; whether they are advancing, falling back, or attempting to flank the enemy by penetrating the woods, is known, and the movements of all the others become co-operative as much as possible. The King's horns go to the market-place every night, as near to midnight as they can judge, and flourish a very peculiar strain, which was rendered to me, "King Saï thanks all his captains and all his people for to-day."

Several of the hearts of the enemy are cut out by the fetish

men who follow the army, and the blood and small pieces being mixed (with much ceremony and incantation) with various consecrated herbs, all those who have never killed an enemy before eat a portion, for it is believed that if they did not their vigour and courage would be secretly wasted by the haunting spirit of the deceased. It was said that the King and all the dignitaries partook of the heart of any celebrated enemy; this was only whispered; that they wore the smaller joints, bones, and the teeth of the slain monarchs was evident as well as boasted. One man was pointed out to me as always eating the heart of the enemy he killed with his own hand. The number of an army is ascertained or preserved in cowries or coin by Apokoo. When a successful general returns, he waits about two days at a short distance from the capital, to receive the King's compliments, and to collect all the splendour possible for his entrée, to encourage the army and infatuate the people. The most famous generals are distinguished by the addition of warlike names, more terrific than glorious, as they designate their manner of destroying their prisoners. Apokoo was called Aboäwassa, because he was in the habit of cutting off their arms; Appia, Sheäboo, as he beats their heads in pieces with a stone; Amanqua, Abiniowa, as he cuts off their legs.

The army is prohibited during the active parts of a campaign from all food but meal, which each man carries in a small bag at his side and mixes in his hands with the first water he comes to; this, they allege, is to prevent cooking fires from betraying their position or anticipating a surprise. In the intervals (for this meal is seldom eaten more than once a day) they chew the boossee or gooroo nut. This meal is very nourishing and soon satisfies; we tried it on our march down. Ashantee spies have been stationed three and four days in the high trees overlooking Cape Coast Castle, with no other supply than this meal and a little water, before the army has shown

itself. There is always a distinct body of recruits with the army, to despatch those with their knives whom the musket has only wounded, and they are all expected to return well armed from despoiling the enemy, or they are not esteemed of promise, and dismissed to some servile occupation. I could not find that they had any idea of fortifications, though undoubtedly common to the large cities on the Niger.

It is the invariable policy of Ashantee to make the contingency of the power last subdued, the revolters recently quelled, or the allies last accepted, the van of their army throughout the campaign; and very frequently there are no Ashantees but captains with the army, but it is composed entirely of tributaries and allies. Thus Odumata subdued Banda with an army of Gamans. In the Ashantee body of the army, which is always that of reserve, the youngest or last made captain marches and engages first, and the others follow seriatim, until Odumata precedes Quatchie Quofie, Amanqua follows him, and Apokoo precedes the King. Were the country generally open, I have no doubt necessity and their military genius would have suggested greater arrangement and compactness in their movement, which is nevertheless very orderly. Two divisions of an army are rarely allowed to go the same path, lest, being in want of supplies, the neighbourhood should prove inadequate. Aboidwee, our house-master (see correspondence on the Ashantee suicide), who has 1700 retainers, always precedes the King's or Apokoo's division (which will exclusively occupy the Banda path in the invasion of Gaman), to raise a bamboo-house for the King's reception when he comes up.

Infants are frequently married to infants, for the connexion of families; and infants are as frequently wedded by adults and elderly men. The ceremony is to send the smaller piece of cloth, worn around the middle, to the infant, and a handsome dash of gold to the mother, as her care then ceases to be

a duty, but becomes a service performed to the husband, who also sends frequent presents for the support of the child. Apokoo told me it was a good plan for a man to adopt who wished to get gold, for as the circumstance was seldom generally known, the most innocent freedom when the girl became ten or eleven years old grounded a palaver against the individual, though he might consider he was but fondling a child, and be wholly ignorant of her marriage. I afterwards understood from several others that this view was the leading motive.[9]

It frequently happens when the family of the wife is too powerful for the husband to venture to put her to death for intrigue, that he takes off her nose as a stigma and punishment, and makes her the wife of one of his slaves. A wife who betrays a secret is sure to lose her upper lip, and if discovered listening to a private conversation of her husband's an ear. Women so maimed are to be met with in all parts of the town. Prostitutes are numerous and countenanced. No Ashantee forces his daughter to become the wife of the man he wishes, but he instantly disclaims her support and protection on her refusal, and would persecute the mother if she afforded it; thus abandoned, they have no resource but prostitution. During the menses the women of the capital retire to the plantations or crooms in the bush.[1]

In visiting the chief always gives his principal slaves a few sips of the liquor offered to him, not for security, for it is

[9] On the coast the bride's character is very notoriously published for part of the husband's present to her family being a flask of rum, and that not sent until the next day; whether it is brimful or somewhat wanting indicates her virginity or early frailty.

[1] The women of Ahanta, on the same occasion, are prohibited from entering any inhabited place, and if they attempt to go into a house are heavily fined or punished. If the family is respectable they generally erect a temporary shed to shelter her. The poorer class are forced to endure the inclemencies of the weather without any retreat.

more frequently after than before he has drunk, but as a mark of his favour. He will frequently give his daughter in marriage to a confidential slave, but where there are a few thus distinguished and indulged (apparently as a political check upon a heterogeneous populace), there are thousands barely existing.

Their principal games are worra,[2] which I could not understand, and draughts, which both Moors and negroes play well and constantly. Their method resembles the Polish; they take and move backwards and forwards, and a King has the bishop's move in chess. They have another game, for which a board is perforated like a cribbage board, but in numerous oblique lines, traversing each other in all directions, and each composed of three holes for pegs; the players begin at the same instant, with an equal number of pegs, and he who inserts or completes a line first, in spite of the baulks of his adversary, takes a peg from him until the stock of either is exhausted.

[2] This game is said to be played in Syria also.

ARCHITECTURE, ARTS, AND MANUFACTURES.

THE construction of the ornamental architecture of Coomassie reminded me forcibly of the ingenious essay of Sir James Hall (in the "Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions"), tracing the Gothic order to an architectural imitation of wicker-work.

In building a house, a mould was made for receiving the swish or clay by two rows of stakes and wattle-work, placed at a distance equal to the intended thickness of the wall, as two mud walls were raised at convenient distances to receive the plum-pudding stone which formed the walls of the vitrified fortresses in Scotland. The interval was then filled up with a gravelly clay, mixed with water, with which the outward surface of the frame or stake-work was also thickly plastered, so as to impose the appearance of an entire thick mud wall.

The houses had all gable ends, and three thick poles were joined to each—one from the highest point, forming the ridge of the roof, and one on each side, from the base of the triangular part of the gable. These supported a framework of bamboo, over which an interwoven thatch of palm-leaves was laid, and tied with the runners of trees, first to the large poles running from gable to gable, and afterwards (within) to the interlacing of the bamboo framework, which was painted black and polished, so as to look much better

than any rude ceiling would, of which they have no idea. The pillars, which assist to support the roof, and form the proscenium or open front (which none but captains are allowed to have to their houses), were thick poles, afterwards squared with a plastering of swish. The steps and raised floor of these rooms were clay and stone, with a thick layer of red earth, which abounds in the neighbourhood, and these were washed and painted daily with an infusion of the same earth in water; it has all the appearance of red ochre, and from the abundance of iron ore in the neighbourhood I do not doubt it is.

The walls still soft, they formed moulds or frameworks of the patterns in delicate slips of cane, connected by grass. The two first slips (one end of each being inserted in the soft wall) projected the relief, commonly mezzo: the interstices were then filled up with the plaster.

The poles or pillars were sometimes encircled by twists of cane, intersecting each other, which, being filled up with thin plaster, resembled the lozenge and cable ornaments of the Anglo-Norman order; the quatre-foil was very common and by no means rude, from the symmetrical bend of the cane which formed it. I saw a few pillars (after they had been squared with the plaster) with numerous slips of cane pressed perpendicularly on to the wet surface, which being covered again with a very thin coat of plaster, closely resembled fluting. When they formed a large arch, they inserted one end of a thick piece of cane in the wet clay of the floor or base, and bending the other over, inserted it in the same manner; the entablature was filled up with wattle-work plastered over. Arcades and piazzas were common. A whitewash, very frequently renewed, was made from a clay in the neighbourhood. Of course the plastering is very frail, and in the relief frequently discloses the edges of the cane, giving, however, a piquant effect, auxiliary to the ornament.

The doors were an entire piece of cotton-wood, cut with great labour out of the stems or buttresses of that tree; battens, variously cut and painted, were afterwards nailed across.

So disproportionate was the price of labour to that of provision, that I gave but two tokoos for a slab of cotton-wood five feet by three. The locks they use are from Houssa, and quite original; one will be sent to the British Museum. Where they raised a first floor, the under room was divided into two by an intersecting wall, to support the rafters for the upper room, which were generally covered with a framework, thickly plastered over with red ochre. I saw but one attempt at flooring with plank, it was cotton-wood shaped entirely with an adze, and looked like a ship's deck. The windows were open wood work, carved in fanciful figures and intricate patterns, and painted red; the frames were frequently cased in gold, about as thick as cartridge paper.

What surprised me most, and is not the least of the many circumstances deciding their great superiority over the generality of Negroes, was the discovery that every house had its cloacæ, besides the common ones for the lower orders without the town. They were generally situated under a small archway in the most retired angle of the building, but not unfrequently up-stairs, within a separate room like a small closet, where the large hollow pillar also assists to support the upper story: the holes are of a small circumference, but dug to a surprising depth, and boiling water is daily poured down, which effectually prevents the least offence. The rubbish and offal of each house was burnt every morning at the back of the street, and they were as nice and cleanly in their dwellings as in their persons.

The King made frequent inquiries about the architecture of England, of which we gave him some idea by drawings.

He was very fond of referring to a project ascribed to Saï Cudjo, and which he declared he would carry into effect directly the Gaman war was over. This was to build a house for his own immediate residence, roofed with brass pans, beaten into flat services, and laid over an ivory framework appearing within. The windows and the doors to be cased in gold, and the doorposts and pillars of ivory. Whether the Moors originated or encouraged this extravagance by the descriptions in their tales, for some of the stories of the "Arabian Nights" were commonly in their mouths, or whether it was the scheme of his own disposition, prone to magnificence and novelty, the King dwelt ardently on the intention, and by their frequent conversations on the subject, his chiefs appeared scarcely less anxious for the execution than himself. He meditated great improvements and embellishments in his capital, on his return from the war, when it was intended that every captain should be presented with an extraordinary sum out of the public treasury, for adorning or enlarging his house. The ruined streets between Asafoo and Bantama were to be rebuilt, and the six or seven small crooms between Coomassie and Baramang (the King's country residence), were to be pulled down, and the inhabitants to occupy a wide street to extend from the city to that croom. This was the darling design of the King; he had already made a sound, broad, and almost direct road, and numerous labourers were continuing to bring it as near as possible to a straight line.

The Ashantee loom is precisely on the same principle as the English; it is worked by strings held between the toes; the web is never more than four inches broad. A small loom complete is amongst the articles for the British Museum. They use a spindle and not a distaff for spinning, holding it in one hand, and twisting the thread (which has a weight at the end) with the finger and thumb of the other. The

fineness, variety, brilliance, and size of their cloths would astonish, could a more costly one be exhibited; in the absence of which, that for the Museum will doubtless be admired for the two first qualities, and for having precisely the same appearance on both sides. The richest silks are unravelled to weave into them. The white cloths, which are principally manufactured in Inta and Dagwumba, they paint for mourning with a mixture of blood and a red dye-wood. The patterns are various and not inelegant, and painted with so much regularity, with a fowl's feather, that they have all the appearance of a coarse print at a distance. I have seen a man paint as fast as I could write. There will be a very fair specimen in the British Museum, the price of painting which was one ackie.

They have two dye-woods, a red and a yellow, specimens of which I brought down; they make a green by mixing the latter with their blue dye, in which they excel; it is made from a plant called acassie, certainly not the indigo, which grows plentifully on the coast. The acassie rises to the height of about two feet, and according to the natives bears a red flower, but the leaf is not small, fleshy, or soft, nor is it pale or silvery coloured underneath; it is a thin acuminate leaf, about five inches long and three broad, of a dark green.[1] I regret to add, our best specimens of this plant perished in the disasters of our march, and no drawing was made of it, as it bore no flower in that season; it grows abundantly in the woods, and produces a fast and beautiful colour without requiring a mordant. They gather a quantity of the leaves, bruise them in a wooden mortar, and spread

[1] It is a shrub with opposite leaves, no stipules, and having a certain degree of resemblance to *Marsdenia suave-olens* (the indigo of Sumatra) but as the leaves are toothed in the acassie, it probably does not belong even to the same natural order.

them out on a mat to dry; this mass is kept for use, a proportion of it is put into a pot of water, and remains six days previous to immersing the thread, which is left in six days, drying it once every day in the sun, it is then a deep, lasting blue colour. When a light blue is wished for, the thread is only allowed to remain in the dye-pot three days.

They excel in pottery, as the pipes for the Museum will show; they are rested on the ground when smoked; the clay is very fine, polished (after baking) by friction, and the grooves of the patterns filled up with chalk. They have also a black pottery which admits of a high polish.

The people of Dagwumba surpass the Ashantees in goldsmith's work, though the latter may be esteemed proficients in the art. The small articles for the Museum, a gold stool, sanko, bell, jawbone, and drum, are not such neat specimens as I could wish, the man who made them having too much costly work on hand for the King to pay our trifles his wonted attention; unfortunately, too, he was committed to prison before they were quite finished; however, they will give an idea. I weighed out nineteen ackies and a half of gold dust for making these articles; one third of an ackie was lost in melting, and five was the charge of the goldsmith. We lost a beautiful silver pipe in the bustle. Bees-wax, for making the model of the article wanted, is spun out on a smooth block of wood, by the side of a fire, on which stands a pot of water; a flat stick is dipped into this, with which the wax is made of a proper softness; it takes about a quarter of an hour to make enough for a ring. When the model is finished, it is enclosed in a composition of wet clay and charcoal (which being closely pressed around it forms a mould), dried in the sun, and having a small cup of the same materials attached to it (to contain the gold for fusion), communicating with the model by a small perforation. When the whole model is finished, and the gold carefully enclosed in the cup,

it is put in a charcoal fire with the cup undermost. When the gold is supposed to be fused, the cup is turned uppermost, that it may run into the place of the melted wax; when cool the clay is broken, and if the article is not perfect it goes through the whole process again. To give the gold its proper colour, they put a layer of finely-ground red ochre (which they call Inchuma) all over it, and immerge it in boiling water mixed with the same substance and a little salt; after it has boiled half an hour, it is taken out and thoroughly cleansed from any clay that may adhere to it. Their bellows are imitations of ours, but the sheep-skin they use being tied to the wood with leather thongs, the wind escapes through the crevices; therefore when much gold is on the fire, they are obliged to use two or three pair at the same time. Their anvils are generally a large stone, or a piece of iron placed on the ground. Their stoves are built of swish (about three or four feet high), in a circular form, and are open about one-fifth of the circumference; a hole is made through the closed part level with the ground, for the nozzle of the bellows. Their weights are very neat brass casts of almost every animal, fruit, or vegetable known in the country. The King's scales, blow-pan, boxes, and weights, and even the tongs which hold the cinder to light his pipe, were neatly made of the purest gold that could be manufactured.

Their blacksmith's work is performed with the same sort of forge as the above, but they have no idea of making iron from ore, as their interior neighbours do. Their swords are generally perforated in patterns like fish trowels; frequently they make two blades springing parallel from one handle, which evince very fine workmanship. The needles and castanets will only give some idea of their progress. The iron-stone is of a dark red colour, spotted with grey, and intermixed with what had all the appearance of lava; they cut bullets out of it for the army when lead is scarce. I have brought some arrows of

native iron. They have no idea of making a lock like the people of Houssa and Marrowa.

They tan or dress leather in Ashantee, but they do this and dye it in a very superior manner in Houssa and Dagwumba. See the sandals and cushion in the British Museum, the former varied and apparently stitched; doubting that there could be such stitching, I undid a part, and discovered that they perforated the surface, and then stuck in the fine shreds of leather. The curious will observe, that the patterns of the stool-cushion are all produced by paring the surface. They make their soldiers' belts and pouches out of elephant or pig skin, ornamented with red shells.

Of their carpenter's work the stool is a fair specimen, being carved out of a solid piece of a wood called zesso, white, soft, and bearing a high polish; it is first soaked in water. They sell such a stool for about three shillings; in Accra or Fantee it would fetch twenty. The umbrella is even more curious; the bird is cut almost equal to turning, and the whole is so supple that it may be turned inside out. This, only a child's umbrella, is a model of the large canopies I have described in the procession; I gave a piece of cloth value twenty shillings for it. The sanko or guitar is also neatly made, and the chasteness and Etruscan character of the carving is very surprising. The surface of the wood is first charred in the fire, and then carved deep enough to disclose the original white in the stripes or lines of the patterns.

Numbers of workmen are employed in breaking, rounding, and boring the snail shells, as big as a turkey's egg generally, and sometimes as large as a conch. They are first broken into numerous pieces, then chipped round the size of a sleeve button, and afterwards bored with a bow and iron style fixed in a piece of wood. Lastly, they are strung and extended in rows on a log of wood, and rubbed with a soft

and bluish-grey stone and water, until they become perfectly round.

Their pine-apple thread is very strong, and is made from the fineness of a hair to the thickness of whip-cord; it bleaches to a beautiful whiteness, and would answer for sewing any strong material, but when muslin is stitched with it, it is liable to be cut from the harshness. The women frequently join their cloths, and ornament their handkerchiefs with a zigzag pattern, worked with unravelled silks of different colours. The fetish case is a specimen of their needlework in the manner of chain stitch.

CLIMATE, POPULATION, REVENUE, CITY, MARKETS, ETC.

THE climate will be best judged of by the account of the thermometer from May to February. During the first two months, May and June, it rained about one-third of the time, throughout July and August it rained nearly half, and abrupt tornadoes were frequent in the evening, just after sunset, ushered in by a strong wind from the south-west. The heaviest rains were from the latter end of September to the beginning of November, they fell even in more impetuous torrents than are witnessed on the coast.[1] The influence of the harmattan was described as very powerful. Generally speaking, from the elevation of Ashantee (unfortunately we had no barometer), it was much cooler in Coomassie than at Cape Coast; indeed, from four to six in the morning, there was a severity of cold unknown on the coast.

I can only calculate the population of the kingdom of Ashantee, small in itself, from its military force, of which the following is the most moderate of the estimates I received.

[1] At Cape Coast, in 1815, there was scarcely any rain fell in its season, from May to August. In 1816, the rains were heavy, but no fogs succeeded. In 1817, there was but little rain, but a protracted succession of slight fogs. The climate has been observed, by old residents, to alter as unaccountably within these few years as that of Europe.

Coomassie district (extending to the northern frontier)	60,000
Dwabin ditto	35,000
Marmpon ditto	15,000
Soota ditto	15,000
Kokoofoo ditto	15,000
Becqua ditto	12,000
Adiabin ditto (between Coomassie and the lake)	12,000
Aphwagwiasee ditto	10,000
Daniasee ditto (southwards of Coomassie)	8,000
Koontarasie ditto (on the lake)	8,000
Gamasie ditto	8,000
Amafoo ditto	6,000
	204,000

This appears an extravagant force, until we recollect that it is probably one-fifth of the whole population.[2] The Romans when they were a nation of warriors, which these people are, raised a military force equally great in proportion to their population. Barbot heard of the Ashantees losing 50,000 men in two actions, an exaggeration which, nevertheless, serves to argue great military resources. Since the Ashantee invasions, their disposable force has been estimated by old residents in public reports as upwards of 150,000. From the above particular statement, the population may be estimated at one million, which I believe is little more than half the population of Scotland, the area of which must be more than double that of Ashantee, which certainly does not contain more than 14,000 square miles. Amanquateä, Quat-

[2] "My friend, Mr. Morton Pitt, M.P., has proved, by the enumeration of the inhabitants of a country parish in Dorsetshire, that the men of an age capable of bearing arms are one-fourth of the whole community. Mr. Horneman, if I understand him rightly, states the number of actual warriors to be 1500; so that we ought, perhaps, to multiply that number by five to get nearer to the total amount of the population."—*Major Rennell.*

chie Quofie, Odumata, and Apokoo's forces alone amounted to 25,000. The contingencies at command from tributaries (21 in number), are too indefinite to attempt to detail. Neither Inta nor Dagwumba furnish any, the Ashantees pretending to despise their troops too much to use them. The following, which are known to be pretty correct, have generally been the first called into action :—

Coranza . .	10,000	
Assin . .	8,000	
Takima . .	6,000	
Dankara . .	5,000	
Warsaw . .	7,000	
Booroom . .	12,000	
Sawee . .	4,000	
Akim . .	4,000	before their later destructive revolts, 16,000.
Aquapim, &c .	1,000	

Though polygamy is tolerated to such an excess amongst the higher orders, I do not think, from observation, that the proportion of women to men is two to one. Most of the lower order of freemen have but one wife, and very few of the slaves (the greater proportion of the military force) any. The following calculation is the only one I can think of, and it supports my impression after five months' residence.

204,000	men able to bear arms, about one-fifth of the whole population .	1,000,000
101,000	or 1-4th, children under ten years of age, as found in Great Britain.	
50,000	boys above that age not capable of bearing arms.	
7,000	or one in about 28, incapacitated by old age or accidents, as found in Great Britain.	
362,000	Males	362,000
	Females	638,000

The men are very well made, but not so muscular as the Fantees; their countenances are frequently aquiline. The women also are generally handsomer than those of Fantee, but it is only amongst the higher orders that beauty is to be found, and amongst them, free from all labour or hardship, I have not only seen the finest figures (which the ease of their costume and habits may account for), but, in many instances, regular Grecian features, with brilliant eyes set rather obliquely in the head. Beauty in a negress must be genuine, since complexion prejudices instead of imposes, and the European adjudges it to the features only, which appeared in this class to be Indian rather than African; nor is it surprising, when we recollect that they are selected from or are the daughters of the handsomest slaves or captives, or are expressly chosen by their interior neighbours to compose part of their tribute to the King of Ashantee, who retains but a small proportion.

Both men and women are particularly cleanly in their persons, the latter washing themselves, and the former being washed by them daily on rising, from head to foot, with warm water and Portuguese soap, using afterwards the vegetable grease or butter, which is a fine cosmetic. Their cloths, which are beetled, are always scrupulously clean. The lowest orders are generally dirty. Occasionally, small delicate patterns in green or white paint are traced on their cheeks and temples. The Moorish negresses darken the edges of their eyelids with lead reduced to a fine powder. The ore was brought from Mallowa and is very rich. The powder is moistened a little, and kept in small boxes, like bodkin cases with a bulb at the end, and prettily covered with cow's hair, within which is a metal stylus to apply the powder, as the women of India do antimony for this purpose. Top-cloths are generally worn, and not by the higher order only as in Fantee. They are commonly of a coarse silk bought at

Dagwumba. They wear little or no antiffoo, a sort of cushion projecting from just below the small of the back in the Fantee women, by the size of which, frequently preposterous, and at all times unsightly, their rank, or the number of their children is known. The bosoms of girls of thirteen and fourteen are frequently models, but the young women sedulously destroy this beauty for what is considered a greater, wearing a broad band tight across their breasts, until ceasing to be globular they project conically. Their heads are shaved in fanciful elaborate patterns, having as intricate an appearance as a rich carpet.

The food of the higher orders is principally soup of dried fish, fowls, beef, or mutton (according to the fetish), and ground nuts stewed in blood. The poorer class make their soups of dried deer, monkey's flesh, and frequently of the pelts of skins. Yams, plantains, and foofoos are commonly eaten, and they do not make cankey of their corn (a coarser sort of kouskous not cleared from the husk) as the Fantees do, but they roast it on the stalk, and when young the flavour closely resembles that of green peas.

Besides palm wine they drink Pittō, made from dried corn, which I think must have been the beer Lieutenant Martyn relished so much, for it is quite as pleasant as a brisk small ale. They are forbidden eggs by the fetish, and cannot be persuaded to taste milk, which is only drunk by the Moors. Their stews and white soups are excellent, and my companions reported their black soups (made with palm oil) to be equally so.

I cannot pretend to calculate the variable revenue of Ashantee, nor indeed to report its optional sources. I noted a few particulars.

1. The dust-gold of all deceased and disgraced subjects. Boiteäm, the father of Otee, left five jars (said to hold about

four gallons each) and two flasks. On Appia Nanu's disgrace three jars were seized.

2. A tax in gold upon all slaves purchased for the coast.[3]

Customs paid in gold by all traders returning from the coast, levied near Ansa in Assin.

3. A tax on the elephant hunters.

4. The small pits in Soko, which, with the washings, were reported to yield sometimes 2000 ounces per month, at others not more than 700.

5. The daily washings throughout Dankara, and the hills dividing Akim and Assin, very rich in gold.

6. A tax on every chief increasing the number of his gold ornaments. Apokoo paid twenty periguins to the King on melting 100.

7. The soil of the market-place (see Laws) has been washed but twice during the present reign. I was told it produced about 800 ounces of gold each time. During our stay a heavy rain washed down a large quantity, which was replaced and carefully covered with the soil by the captain in charge of the market-place. It was very easily seen after rain.

The tributes of the various nations they had subdued were in some instances fixed, but more frequently indefinite, being proportioned to the exigencies of the year; indeed, from various conversations with Apokoo and others, and my own observations during state palavers, it appeared that the necessities and the designs of the Ashantee Government were the superior considerations, and the rule in levying tribute everywhere. I made the following memoranda.

Inta and Dagwumba never pay in gold, which, though plentiful from commerce, is not found there, cowries being

[3] Issert mentions this being levied in Akim and other tributary states.

the circulating medium. Their capitals, and all their large towns, send the following tribute annually, and the smaller in proportion :—

500 Slaves.
200 Cows.
400 Sheep.
400 Cotton-cloths.
200 Ditto and silk.

Takima, a smaller proportion of the same kind.

Coranza is generally excused, from fidelity, and a long series of military services.

Sawee	200 periguins annually.
Moinseän	50 bendas ditto.
Gaman had paid (besides all large pieces of rock gold)	100 periguins ditto.

Akim, Assin, Warsaw, Aowin, &c. &c., were taxed indefinitely by crooms.

Coomassie is built upon the side of a large rocky hill of iron-stone. It is insulated by a marsh close to the town northwards, and but a narrow stream; half a mile distant from it N.W., and 60 yards broad; close to it N.E., E., S.E., and S., and about 100, 20, 70, and 50 yards broad at these points. In many parts depth after heavy rains was five feet, and commonly two. The marsh contains many springs, and supplies the town with water, but the exhalation covers the city with a thick fog morning and evening, and engenders dysentery, with which the natives of the coast who accompanied us were almost immediately attacked, as well as the officers. It is a little extraordinary that we never saw a mosquito in Ashantee. I could find none but bird's-eye views of the city, which were uninteresting, presenting nothing but the thatch of the houses; it was encircled by a beautiful forest, which required more time than I could spare, and a more expressive pencil to pourtray. Coomassie

is an oblong of nearly four miles in circumference, not including the suburbs of Assafoo nor Bantama (the back town), half a mile distant, and formerly connected by streets with the city, as is evident from the numerous ruins of houses on the path. The slaughter of constant warfare, and the extinction or removal of several ill-affected chiefs with their adherents, account for this even in a rising state. The ruins in the interval to Bantama were indeed accounted for by Amanquateä (who holds his court there, as Quatchie Quofie does at Assafoo), informing us that almost all the Ashantees killed before Annamaboe (about 2000 by the most moderate computation) belonged to him, as it was his division which marched along the beach from Cormantine, exposed to the cannon of the fort. Four of the principal streets are half a mile long, and from 50 to 100 yards wide. I observed them building one, and a line was stretched on each side to make it regular. The streets were all named, and a superior captain in charge of each; ours for instance was Aperremsoo, big gun, or cannon street, because those taken when Dankara was conquered were placed on a mound at the top of it, near Adoo Quamina's house. The area in which we had our first audience was called Daëbrim, the great market, in distinction to a lower street called Gwaba, or the small market. The street above where we lived was called Osamarandiduüm, meaning literally, "with 1000 muskets you could not fight those who live there." One street was named after Odumata, and there was another near it, whose title I forget, but it was equal to prison street. The palace was situated in a long and wide street running through the middle of the town, from which it was shut out by a high wall, terminating at each end at the marsh, where it was discontinued, that being a sufficient boundary. It included Odumata's and the King's brothers' residences, and two or three small streets (besides the

several areas and piazzas), for the King's relief and recreation when the superstitions of the country confine him to the palace. I reckoned twenty-seven streets in all, which I have laid down in a ground-plan of the town. The small grove at the back of the large market-place was called Sammonpomë, or the spirit-house, because the trunks of all the human victims were thrown into it. The bloody tracks, daily renewed, showed the various directions they had been dragged from, and the number of vultures on the trees indicated the extent of the recent sacrifice; the stench was insupportable, and the visits of panthers nightly. Several trees were individually scattered about the town for the recreation of the inhabitants of those quarters, and small circular elevations of two steps, the lower about twenty feet in circumference, like the bases of the old market-crosses in England, were raised in the middle of several streets, on which the King's chair was placed when he went to drink palm wine there, his attendants encircling him.

The Ashantees persisted that the population of Coomassie, when collected, was upwards of 100,000. I think it likely to be much greater than that of Sego (which Mr. Park reported as 30,000), from the extended masses of crowd I observed on festivals, when the plantations of the environs are almost wholly deserted. I compared them in my recollection with the crowds I have seen collected in the secondary cities of England on similar occasions of public curiosity; the only criterion, as I had not time to finish reckoning the number of houses. I say when collected, because the higher class could not support their numerous followers, or the lower their large families in the city, and therefore employed them in plantations (in which small crooms were situated), generally within two or three miles of the capital, where their labours not only feed themselves, but supply the wants of the chief, his family, and more immediate suite. The middling orders

station their slaves for the same purpose, and also to collect fruits and vegetables for sale, and when their children become numerous a part are generally sent to be supported by these slaves in the bush. Perhaps the average resident population of Coomassie is not more than from 12,000 to 15,000.

The markets were held daily from about eight o'clock in the morning until sunset. The larger contains about sixty stalls or sheds (a small square frame, covered with cotton cloth, with a pole from the centre stuck into the ground), besides throngs of inferior vendors, seated in all directions. Amongst the articles for sale were beef (to us about 8*d.* per lb.) and mutton, cut in small pieces for soup, wild hog, deer, and monkey's flesh, fowls, pelts of skins; yams, plantains, corn, sugar-cane, rice, encruma (a mucilaginous vegetable, richer than asparagus, which it resembles), peppers, vegetable butter; oranges, papaws, pine-apples (not equal to those on the coast), bananas; salt and dried fish from the coast; large snails, smoke-dried, and stuck in rows on small sticks in the form of herring-bone; eggs for fetish; pittō, palm-wine, rum; pipes, beads, looking-glasses, sandals, silk, cotton-cloth, powder, small pillows, white and blue cotton-thread, calabashes, &c. &c.

The following are the comparative prices of the markets of Coomassie and Yahndi, the capital of Dagwumba :—

	Coomassie.	Yahndi.
A fat bullock .	£6 0 0	£1 0 0
A sheep . .	0 15 0	0 4 0
A fowl . .	0 1 8	0 0 5
A horse . .	24 0 0	8 0 0
Yams . .	0 0 8 for two	0 0 8 for ten.

The surprising exorbitance of the former is to be accounted for by the abundance of gold, yet labour and manufacture

was moderately purchased. In Mallowa provision is dearer than in Dagwumba, but the articles of trade much cheaper; they manufacture very little cloth, the Moorish traders supplying it so abundantly. The cattle we saw in Ashantee were as large as the English, unlike those on the coast, which resemble the Jersey. The sheep are hairy in Ashantee, but woolly in Dagwumba—an open country, where they manufacture a coarse blanket. The horses in Dagwumba are generally small; some were described to be fifteen hands high, but these were never parted with, and the Ashantees did not desire them, for I never saw but one who rode fearlessly. The horses I saw were like half-bred Galloways; their legs lathy, with a wiry hair about the fetlock, only requiring to be pulled. Their heads were large; dun and mouse colours were said to be common; they were never shod, and their hoofs consequently in the eye of the European, though not in nature, disproportionate; they were fed on guinea-grass, occasionally mixed with salt, and sal-ammoniac was frequently dissolved in the water. The saddles were Moorish, of red leather, and cumbersome; the bridles of twisted black leather thongs and brass links, with a whip at the end; the bit severe, with a large ring hanging from the middle, and slipped over the under-jaw instead of a curb-chain; the stirrups were like large blow-pans, and hung very short. Some of the Moors rode on bullocks, with a ring through the nose.

The extent and order of the Ashantee plantations surprised us, yet I do not think they were adequate to the population; in a military government they were not likely to be so. Their neatness and method have been already noticed in our route up. They use no implement but the hoe. They have two crops of corn a year, plant their yams at Christmas, and dig them early in September. The latter plantations had much the appearance of a hop-garden well fenced in, and regularly

planted in lines, with a broad walk around, and a hut at each wicker-gate, where a slave and his family resided to protect the plantation.

All the fruits mentioned as sold in the market grew in spontaneous abundance, as did the sugar-cane: the oranges were of a large size and exquisite flavour. I believe this fruit has hitherto been considered indigenous to India only. We saw no cocoa-nut trees, nor was that fruit in the market. Mr. Park's route was through a very different country.[4] In the marshy ground a large species of fern is very abundant; there are four varieties of it; in shady places that have been cultivated, various tribes of urtica, and the leontodon grows abundantly to the north of Coomassie. The miraculous berry, which gives acids the flavour of sweets, making limes taste like honey, is common.[5] The castor-oil (ricinus communis) rises to a large tree; I have only seen it as a bush about three feet high on the coast; and the wild fig is abundant, though neither of them are used by the natives. The cotton plant is very plentiful, but little cultivated. The only use to which they apply the silk cotton is to the stuffing of cushions

[4] "It is observable, however, that although many species of the edible roots which grow in the West India Islands are found in Africa, yet I never saw, in any part of my journey, either the sugar cane, the coffee, or the cocoa tree; nor could I learn, on inquiry, that they were known to the natives. The pine-apple, and the thousand other delicious fruits, which the industry of civilized man (improving the bounties of nature) has brought to such great perfection in the tropical climates of America, are here equally unknown. I observed, indeed, a few orange and banana trees, near the mouth of the Gambia; but whether they were indigenous, or were formerly planted there by some of the white traders, I could not positively learn. I suspect that they were originally introduced by the Portuguese."—*Park's First Mission.*

[5] "The curious fruit mentioned in the introduction, and to which I have given the name of oxyglycus, I find was known to Des Marchais, who describes it as a little red fruit, which, being chewed, gives a sweet taste to the most sour or bitter things."—*Dalzel's Dahomey.*

and pillows.[6] Mr. Park observed the tobacco-plant, which grows luxuriantly in Inta and Dagwumba, and is called toah. The visitors from those countries recognized it in a botanical work. They first dry the leaves in the sun, then, having rubbed them well between their hands, mix them with water into oval masses, as will be seen.

Lions are numerous on the northern frontiers of Inta, elephants (assoon, F. A. soorer, B.[7]) are remarkably numerous in Kong, but they are also found in Ashantee, with wild hogs (yambo, F. A.), hyænas (patacoo, F. A. boofooree, B.), cows (anantwee, F. A. B), sheep (ygwan, F. A. tsan, B.), goats (apunkie, F. A. terrie, B.), deer (wonsan, F. A. B.), antelopes (ettwan, F. A. B.), dogs (boddum, etcha, F. tweä, A. opooree, B.), approximating to the Danish, cats (agramwaw, F. A. B.), extremely sharp-visaged and long-necked, Gennet cats (essoor, F. A. B.), pangolins (appra, F. A. aypra, B.), alligators (dankim, F. A. B.), &c. &c. &c. The rhinoceros (năree) is found in Boroom, and the hippopotamus (shonsa, A. tchoosooree, B.) in the Odirree river.

The Ashantees say, that an animal called sissah or sissirree, will attack every other, however superior in size. The Fantees, who had never seen it, had imbibed a tremendous idea of it from the stories in their own country. I doubt its being so formidable to all other animals, for the skin I saw was not more than three feet long, and the legs short; it resembled that of a boar, but the natives said it was between a pig and a goat. I inquired of the people of Inta and

[6] "Cotton of the cotton-tree (or *silk* cotton), *Bombax Pentandrium Lin.* This cotton is not made into thread, but is used for making pillows and beds. It is also, from its catching fire so easily, commonly put into tinder boxes, and employed in the preparation of fireworks." —*Ainslie's "Materia Medica of Hindostan."*

[7] F. A. affixed to assoon, denote that to be the native name in the Fantee and Ashantee languages, as B. represents Boroom.

Dagwumba if they had ever heard of a unicorn. One replied, "Yes, in the white man's country." It is extraordinary that the gnoo (antelope gnu), which is found behind the Cape of Good Hope, is known in Inta by the same name.[8] Where the beds were not an accumulation of cushions, the skin of the gnoo was nailed to a large wooden frame, raised on legs about a foot from the ground, and stretched as we would sacking. It was a revered custom that no virgin of either sex should sleep on this kind of bed. Another animal, called otrum, was described by the inhabitants of the eastern frontier as having one very long horn on one side of the head and a short one on the other; it is much larger than the gnoo. We met with a spotted animal of the cat kind (gahin, F. A. B.), very common, and allied to the leopard or panther; but whether referable to either of those species, or to be considered as distinct, we could not determine, owing to the very vague and unsatisfactory character by which naturalists have attempted to distinguish them—the kind and number of the rows of spots—which we have observed, in individuals of the same decided species, to present almost an infinity of variation.

The vulture (pittay, F. A. epraykee, B.), which I have before mentioned to be venerated by the natives for the same reason which the Egyptians venerated the vulturus percnopterus, is the vulturus monachus figured by Le Vaillant. Green pigeons (assam) are found, and crows with a white ring round their necks, probably the corvus scapularis figured by Le Vaillant. There were several small birds of beautiful plumage, which sung melodiously—two in particular, the one like a blackbird, and the other of the same colour as the English thrush, but larger. Also a variety of

[8] C'est probablement lui qui a donné lieu à leur *catoblepas*. Voyez Pline, lib. 8, c. 32, et Ælien, lib. 7, c. 5, Cuvier. The gnoo is almost always *looking down*.

parrots beautifully spangled with different colours. M. Cuvier was misinformed when he wrote (Regne Animal, tom. i. p. 108), "Macaque est le nom générique des singes à la côte de Guinée." The name is unknown there as well as in the interior. Dokoo is the generic name. The Simia Diana (effoor, F. A. B.), which has the most beautiful skin of any monkey, is found in Ashantee as well as in Warsaw. All the natives agree that they do not know of any monkeys which dare to attack men but the akonëson, which they describe as small and always seen in troops.

Snakes (aboïtinnee, F. A. ewaw, B.), green, and of all colours; scorpions, lizards, &c. &c., were found as on the coast, with a curious variety of beetles, and the most beautiful butterflies. A few specimens preserved in spirits will be sent to the British Museum, as the best apology for my ignorance rather than neglect of natural history.

MUSIC.

THE wild music of these people is scarcely to be brought within the regular rules of harmony,[1] yet their airs have a sweetness and animation beyond any barbarous compositions I ever heard. Few of their instruments possess much power, but the combination of several frequently produces a surprising effect. The flute is made of a long hollow reed, and has not more than three holes; the tone is low at all times, and when they play in concert they graduate them with such nicety as to produce the common chords. Several instances of thirds occur, especially in one of the airs, played as a funeral dirge; nor is this extraordinary considering it is the most natural interval; the addition of fifths, at the same time, is rare. The natives declare they can converse by means of their flutes, and an old resident at Accra has assured me he has heard these dialogues, and that every sentence was explained to him.

On the Sanko, a specimen of which is in the British Museum, they display the variety of their musical talents, and the Ashantees are allowed to surpass all others. It consists of a narrow box, the open top of which is covered with alligator or antelope skin; a bridge is raised on this, over which

[1] "A few melodies in national music have been found incapable of harmony; such as the two first bars of the second part of the Irish tune called 'The Fair Hair'd Child.'"—*Dr. Crotch.*

eight strings are conducted to the end of a long stick, fastened to the forepart of the box, and thickly notched, and they raise or depress the strings into these notches as occasion requires. The upper string assimilates with the tenor C of the piano, and the lower with the octave above: sometimes they are tuned in Diatonic succession, but too frequently the intermediate strings are drawn up at random, producing flats and sharps in every Chromatic variety, though they are not skilful enough to take advantage of it. I frequently urged this by trying to convince them they were not playing the same tune I had heard the day before, but the answer was invariably, "I pull the same string, it must be the same tune." The strings are made from the runners of a tree called Enta, abounding in the forests. All airs on this instrument are played very quick, and it is barely possible to make even an experienced player lessen the time, which quick as it is, is kept in a surprising manner, especially as every tune is loaded with ornament. They have a method of stopping the strings with the finger, so as to produce a very soft and pleasing effect, like the Meyer touch of the harp.

The horns form their loudest sounds, and are made of elephants' tusks; they are generally very large, and, being graduated like the flutes, their flourishes have a martial and grand effect. It has been mentioned in the Military Customs of the Ashantees, that peculiar sentences are immediately recognized by the soldiers and people, in the distinct flourishes of the horns of the various chiefs: the words of some of these sentences are almost expressible by the notes of the horns; the following, uttered by the horns of a captain named Gettoä, occurs to me as an instance:—

"O Saï tĭntĭntoo, ma yūāyĭä pa pa."

O Saï great King! I laud thee everywhere, or exceedingly.

The Bentwa is a stick bent in the form of a bow, and across it is fastened a very thin piece of split cane, which is

held between the lips at one end, and struck with a small stick; whilst at the other it is occasionally stopped, or rather buffed, by a thick one; on this they play only lively airs, and it owes its various sounds to the lips.

The Mosees, Mallowas, Bournous, and natives from the more remote parts of the interior, play on a rude violin: the body is a calabash, the top is covered with deerskin, and two large holes are cut in it for the sound to escape; the strings, or rather string, is composed of cow's hair, and broad like that of the bow with which they play, which resembles the bow of a violin. Their grimace equals that of an Italian buffo: they generally accompany themselves with the voice, and increase the humour by a strong nasal sound.

The Oompoochwa is a box, one end of which is left open; two flat bridges are fastened across the top, and five pieces of thin curved stick, scraped very smooth, are attached to them, and (their ends being raised) are struck with some force by the thumb. I can compare it to nothing but the Staccado nearly deprived of its tone.

The Ashantees have an instrument like a bagpipe, but the drone is scarcely to be heard.

The rest of the instruments can hardly be called musical, and consist of drums, castanets, gong-gongs, flat sticks, rattles, and even old brass pans.

The drums are hollowed trunks of trees, frequently carved with much nicety, mostly open at one end, and of many sizes: those with heads of common skin (that is of any other than leopard skin) are beaten with sticks in the form of a crotchet rest; the largest are borne on the head of a man, and struck by one or more followers; the smaller are slung round the neck, or stand on the ground; in the latter case they are mostly played with the inside of the fingers, at which the natives are very expert: amongst these drums are some with heads of leopard skin (looking like vellum), only sounded by

two fingers, which are scraped along, as the middle finger is on the tamborine, but producing a much louder noise. The gong-gongs are made of hollow pieces of iron, and struck with the same metal. The castanets are also of iron. The rattles are hollow gourds, the stalks being left as handles, and contain shells or pebbles, and are frequently covered with a network of beads; the grimaces with which these are played make them much more entertaining to sight than hearing.

Their graces are so numerous, some extempore, some transmitted from father to son, that the constant repetition only can distinguish the commencement of the air: sometimes between each beginning they introduce a few chords, sometimes they leave out a bar, sometimes they only return to the middle, so entirely is it left to the fancy of the performer. The observation made on the time of the Sanko may be extended to almost every other instrument, but it is always perfect, and the children will move their heads and limbs, whilst on their mothers' backs, in exact unison with the tune which is playing: the contrasts of piano and forte are very well managed.

The singing is almost all recitative, and this is the only part of music in which the women partake; they join in the choruses, and at the funeral of a female sing the dirge itself; but the frenzy of the moment renders it such a mixture of yells and screeches, that it bids defiance to all notation. The songs of the canoe men are peculiar to themselves, and very much resemble the chants used in cathedrals, but as they are all made for the moment, I have not been able to retain any of them.

MATERIA MEDICA AND DISEASES.

THE report of the Materia Medica and Botany of Ashantee was the only one which I was not required to furnish. It was afforded by Mr. Henry Tedlie, assistant-surgeon, whose subsequent death has mingled a regret with the recollection of the Embassy, which the recall of my own sufferings, and the family affliction it entailed on me, could never have exacted. The intelligence reached me in England, to correct the pride of success by associating misfortune with it; for the recollection of Mr. Tedlie's social virtues, of his enterprise and ability, makes it a severe one to myself, and to the world. Mr. Tedlie suffered severely from intermitting dysentery during the mission, but I had hoped it would have been eradicated after his return. He had previously attended the Expedition to Candy, and expired at Cape Coast Castle in the twenty-seventh year of his age. Throughout the mission he indulged the feelings of the natives, in his professional capacity, with a patience few could have exerted; whether labouring under sickness himself, or disturbed in the moments of a scanty rest, he awed and conciliated the people by the importance of his cures, and thus contributed to the success of the enterprise.

During the earlier part of our residence at Coomassie the season was tolerably favourable to the gathering of plants, but we were then allowed to go out but seldom, and never

beyond the town. Latterly, when better impressions succeeded, and our walks were unrestrained by limits or attendants, the rains not only checked, but generally disappointed my researches, by presenting the subject flowerless (or in an unfit state for preservation), and consequently not admitting their classification, as is too evident in the following list of such plants as are used as medicines by the Ashantees.

1. Cutturasuh. (*Chrysanthellum procumbens. Persoon. syn. 2. p.* 471, *Verbesina mutica Willd.*[1]) A small plant, a decoction of which is purgative; before boiling it should be bruised.

2. Adumba (*a species of Ficus*). The bark and fruit are pounded with Mallaguetta pepper and a small plant called awhinteywhinting, boiled in fish-soup. Two doses in the third month of gestation are said to cause abortion.

3. Koofoobah (*Gloriosa superba. Linn.*) is bruised with Mallaguetta pepper (lesser cardamom seeds), and applied to the ancle or foot when sprained.

4. Tandoorue (*perhaps a Cupania or Trichilia*). The bark is pounded, and boiled with Mallaguetta pepper. Used for pain in the belly, and acts as a purgative.

5. Bissey. (*Sterculia acuminata. Palis. de Beauvois, Flore d'Oware* 1. *p.* 41. *tab.* 24.) The fruit is constantly chewed by the Ashantees, especially on a journey; it is said to prevent hunger, and strengthen the stomach and bowels; has a slight bitter aromatic astringent taste, and causes an increase of the saliva while chewed.

6. Attueh. (*Blighia sapida. Hort. Kew. ed.* 2. *vol.* 3, *p.* 350. *Akeesia Africana Tussac Flor. des Antilles* 66.) A decoction of the bark is said to be anti-venereal. The fruit is eaten.

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Brown's knowledge for the names and references in the parentheses.

7. Ricinus Communis *Linn.* Castor-oil nut-tree, thirty feet high here, and not a bush as on the coast; not used as medicine by the natives.

8. Apooder. (*Two species of Leucas, of which one is hardly different from L. Martinicensis' Hort. Kew. ed.* 2. *vol.* 3, *p.* 409, *the other is perhaps new.*) A mixture of the bruised leaves with lime-juice is applied to inflammations.

9. Hooghong (*a species of Urtica*), is bruised, mixed with chalk, and drunk by pregnant women to correct acidity in the stomach, heartburn, &c.

10. Accocottocotorawah. (*Heliotropium indicum. Linn.*) The juice expressed from this plant is snuffed up the nostrils in cases of severe headache. They also inhale the smoke of it into the nose.

11. Crowera (*Acalypha ciliata. Willd. sp. pl.*), is bruised with lesser cardamom seed, and rubbed on the chest and side when pained.

12. Enminim (*a species of Vitis*). A climbing plant. The juice expressed from the leaves is dropped into the eyes when affected with ophthalmia or pain.

13. Secoco. (*Leptanthus?*) A small marshy plant. Is pounded with lime-juice and rubbed on the body to cure the crawcraws, a severe and obstinate species of itch.

14. Ammo. The juice is applied to cuts and bruises.

15. Petey (*possibly a Piper*). The leaves are pounded, and applied as a plaister to inflammatory swellings and boils.

16. Abromotome. The bruised leaves are used to discuss boils.

17. Yangkompro. (*A syngenesious plant related to Cacalia.*) The pounded leaves are applied to cuts and contusions.

18. Oeduema. (*Musanga cecropioides Br. See Tuckey's Congo, p.* 453.) The hairy sheath, or stipule, of a large

palmated-leaved tree ; it resembles a skin, is boiled in soup, and used as a powerful emmenagogue.

19. Semeney (*probably a species of Aneilema*). The leaves are pounded and applied as a plaister to favour the discharge of boils and collections of pus.

20. Wowwah (*perhaps a Sterculia.*) The inner bark of this tree is scraped fine and mixed with Mallaguetta pepper, and drank for colic and other pains in the belly.

21. Anafranakoo. The bruised leaves are applied to discuss boils and other inflammatory swelling.

22. Kattacaiben (*Leea Sambucina*). A decoction of the leaves is drunk every morning by pregnant women when they experience any uneasiness in the abdomen. The bark of the tree powdered is rubbed on chronic swellings.

23. Aserumbdrue (*a species of Piper related to umbellatum*). The leaves are used in soup to allay swellings of the belly.

24. Ocisseeree. The bark of this tree is used to stop the purging in dysentery and diarrhœa.

25. Gingang. (*Paullinia Africana Br. See Tuckey's Congo, p.* 427.) The bark of this tree is used internally and externally, mixed with Mallaguetta pepper, for pain in the side.

26. Cudeyakoo. A very small plant. The leaves and stalk pounded are applied to eruptions on the head. A mixture of it with lime-juice is applied to the yaws.

27. Affeuah (*unknown*) and Nuinnuerafuh (*Hedysari species*). A mixture of the bruised leaves of these plants with Mallaguetta pepper, is rubbed on the body and limbs when swelled or pained : a decoction of them, with an addition of the plant Comfany (*Alternantheræ, sp.*), is used internally in the same cases.

28. Adummah. (*Paullinia Africana. The same as No.* 25.) A decoction of the bark of this tree, reduced to powder with

Mallaguetta pepper, drunk once a day, stops the discharge of blood and cures the dysentery.

29. Tointinney (*probably a Menispermum*), is chewed with Mallaguetta pepper as a cure for a cough.

30. Apussey. (*A leguminous plant, probably allied to Robinia.*) The bark of this tree, pounded with Mallaguetta pepper, is applied to the head in cases of headache.

31. Thuquamah. The bark is pounded and drank in palm wine, with Mallaguetta pepper, for pain in the belly.

32. Conkknoney, a dark purple-coloured toadstool, the size of a hazel nut, rubbed with Mallaguetta pepper and lime-juice; it purges briskly. To stop the purging, a mess of boiled Guinea corn-meal and lime-juice should be eaten.

33. Suetinney. (*Brillantaisia owariensis. Palis. de Beauvois Flor. d'Oware*, 2, *p.* 68, *tab.* 100, *fig.* 2.) A decoction of the leaves is drunk for pain in the belly.

34. Soominna (Tetandria Monogynia), is bruised with lime-juice, and used to abate cough.

35. Thattha (*Scoparia dulcis. Linn*). The expressed juice of this plant is dropped into the ears when pained.

36. Aquey (*Melia Azedarach. Linn.*). A decoction of the leaves of this tree is used with palm wine as a corroborant.

37. Dammaram (*Mussænda fulgens. nov. spec.*).

The diseases most common in the Ashantee country are the lues, yaws, itch, ulcers, scald-heads, and griping pains in the bowels. Other diseases are occasionally met with, I should suppose in the same proportion that they occur in civilized countries; but I do not know to what cause to assign the prevalence and frequency of one of the most unsightly diseases that can occur in any country: it is an obstinate species of ulcer, or Noli me tangere, which destroys the nose and upper lip; it attacks women chiefly, although

men are not exempt from it; there are more than 100 women in Coomassie who have lost the nose or upper lip from this cause alone: it commences with a small ulcer in the alæ nasi or upper lip, the size of a split pea excavated, with the edges ragged and turned inwards, it proceeds by ulcerating under the skin. The bottom of the ulcer is uneven, covered with a foul slough of a very disagreeable smell, and the discharge is thin, watery, and very irritating. It seldom cicatrices before the alæ nasi and lip are completely destroyed. When it does cease, the skin is puckered and uneven, and has a very disagreeable appearance. The only remedy which the natives use is an external application of bruised leaves; they seem to let it take its course without being very anxious about a cure.

Framboesia, the yaws, is a very frequent disease with the children of the poor and slaves. Before the eruption takes place, they are severely afflicted with pains in the joints, and along the course of the muscles of the superior and inferior extremities. In young persons, hard, round, bony excrescences, the size of a walnut, form on each side of the nose under the eyes. The natives either are not acquainted with a remedy for this enlargement of the bones, or, if they are, they do not put it in practice. I administered alterative doses of calomel and antimonial powder with success, as it stopped the enlargement of the bones and caused them to be absorbed, and relieved the pain in the arms and legs particularly. During the exhibition of the alterative pills, a foul ulcer on the head got well. The natives apply a mixture of the plant cudey-akoo, with lime-juice, to the eruption, but apparently with very little benefit.

Psora, the itch, a very severe species of which, called craw-craw, is a frequent disease, and is very contagious. It is most commonly met with in children. Few of the Dunko slaves are without it, from their poor diet and extreme dirtiness.

They do not seem to experience much uneasiness from it, as they seldom apply any remedy; sometimes they use a rubefaciant, made of a plant called secoco, bruised and mixed with lime-juice.

Gonorrhœa is of rare occurrence. Two cases came under my care. The patients had never used injections. They drank decoctions of leaves and bark, but could not tell me the plants they used. One of the ingredients was a small plant, called cutturasuh, of a purgative nature. The disease is allowed to take its course by the natives, as they are unacquainted with any method to stop it.

Tinea Capitis, the scald-head, is a common disease with the poorer sort of Ashantees and slaves, arising from their neglect of cleanliness. The applications which they use to cure it have seldom the desired effect. They apply plaisters of pounded leaves and charcoal, but do not wash the head. In one case, where a boy was placed under my care, he got well in eight days by having his head very well washed with a brush, soap, and warm water; then a strong infusion of tobacco, applied with a sponge, and, when the head was dry, a composition of resinous and mercurial ointment was rubbed on it.

Hydrocele occasionally occurs. They attempt to cure it by frictions of the castor-oil nut, burnt and bruised with Malla-guetta pepper, but without any benefit. I drew off the water from one hydrocele, but, from our want of stimulants, could not perform any radical cure. Their applications to inguinal hernia are equally ineffectual. They never attempt the reduction of umbilical hernia, although some are very large, and the disease very frequent.

When a fracture of the leg or arm happens, the part is rubbed with a soft species of grass and palm oil, and the limb bound up with splints. "If God does not take the patient, he recovers in four months," as they say.

I have not seen a single instance of fracture in the Ashantee country. Gun-shot wounds of the extremities, when the bone is fractured, are generally fatal, or where a large blood-vessel is wounded, as they are unacquainted with any method of stopping the hæmorrhage. In fact, they pay little attention to their wounded men; if they are not able to travel, they are abandoned. One of the King's criers had his thigh dislocated at the hip-joint with an anchylosis of the knee; the limb was considerably longer than the other, and the accident must have occurred a long time ago, as he walks very well.

During the time we remained in Coomassie, and from our first entrance into the Ashantee country, I was every day applied to for advice and medicines by those who were afflicted with diseases, of which the number was great, and in the capital more especially, from its very unhealthy situation, being entirely surrounded by an extensive tract of swampy ground, and the natives consequently very subject to dysentery and fever. On first entering the country I was applied to by numbers of patients, many of them miserable objects, from the effects of the venereal disease: to as many of those as applied, during our halt in a town, I gave boxes of pills and strict directions for their use, and told them if they came to Coomassie during my residence there, I would do everything in my power to cure them. Many availed themselves of my offer, and attended me on my arrival. To those who had ulcers or wounds, I applied the proper dressings, and left with them lint, adhesive plaister, and ointment. Most of them, as a mark of their gratitude, sent presents of fowls, fruit, palm oil, wine, &c., to me after I had arrived in the capital. One man in Assiminia, who was nearly in the last stage of existence from a complication of disorders, originating from lues venerea, after I had seen him, sent every week to Coomassie for medicines, and completely recovered. Another

in Sarrasoo, who had the worst-looking ulcers of the inferior extremities that I have ever seen, did the same, and with the same success. A great many caboceers attended me every morning with their slaves and children affected with dropsy, craw-craws, yaws, fever, bowel complaints, &c., and expressed the most unbounded thanks for the medicine and advice they received.

At the King's particular request, I attended his own brother, the heir apparent, who had œdematous feet : by the use of friction, a roller, and an alterative course of calomel, and diuretics, he soon recovered.

The King's uncle, heir to the crown after the brother, was severely tormented with stricture of the urethra ; he could only pass urine drop by drop ; three weeks passing the catheter, enabled him to make it in a full stream ; when he immediately requested some powerfully stimulating medicine to correct impotency, which it was not in my power to grant.

The captain whose office it is to drown any of the King's family who have offended, had an ulcer two inches long in the palate bone ; when he drank, part of the fluid passed out of his nose, and his speech was very unintelligible ; the sides of the opening were scarified, and the granulations touched every third or fourth day with lunar caustic until they united ; he got well in one month.

The only unfortunate case I attended, was our guide Quamina Bwa ; shortly after we arrived in Coomassie he was attacked with remittent fever ; by the use of febrifuge medicines, the cold bath, bark, &c., he recovered, and was able to attend his usual duty of waiting on us, when we visited the King ; he went into the country, and I did not see him for six weeks ; at the end of that time, he sent for me, and I found him labouring under a severe bilious dysentery, and liver complaint. I was unable to prevent the formation of matter in his liver ; it formed a large swelling with distinct

fluctuation, and as he hesitated to have it discharged by puncturing with a trochar, it burst internally, and he died. I had one case of cancer of the upper lip, although the disease is said rarely to occur in that part. This case had all the marks of a true cancer; I dressed it every day during the whole time I remained in Coomassie, but the effect flattered and disappointed me by turns.

The most importunate man for medicine, especially of an invigorating kind, in the whole Ashantee country, was old Apokoo, the treasurer and chief favourite. He was afflicted with inguinal hernia: I wrote to Cape Coast for a truss, which I applied, and it gave him immediate relief and satisfaction. He would take the most nauseous drug with pleasure. I generally gave him bark and peppermint-water, which he regularly either sent or came for every day, during the two last months of our residence, and earnestly requested me to leave plenty of medicine with Mr. Hutchison, the British resident there. Most of the chief men were very earnest in their solicitations for me to give them stimulating medicines. I always assured them that it was impossible, that the English never used any, and that nothing astonished me more than that they should ask for such things. Their answers were, "They knew that the English had good heads and knew everything, and must know that too, but I did not wish to give them any."

A List of the Diseases which I have seen in the Ashantee country.

Febris remittens .	2 cases	Scrofula .	many cases.
Hepatitis . .	1 „	Syphilis .	many „
Dysenteria mucosa .	6 „	Gonorrhœa .	2 „
Colica . . .	1 „	Stricture .	3 „
Anasarca . .	3 „	Cataract .	2 „
Ascites . . .	3 „	Staphyloma	5 „

Ectropium	1 case	Umbilical(hernia)	many cases
Bronchocele	many ,,	Dracunculus	7 ,,
Cephalagia	many ,,	Tinea capitis	many ,,
Odontalgia	10 ,,	Hydrocele	many ,,
Ulcers	8 ,,	Cancer	1 ,,
Framboesia	many ,,	Elephantiasis	1 ,,
Psora	many ,,	Lepra	7 ,,
Hernia inguinal	1		

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